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AN EVALUATION OF WILHELM HEINSE'S  
STYLE AND LANGUAGE

BY

ROSEMARIE ELLIOTT

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW IN THE FULFILMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF  
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To all I express my sincere thanks.



## CONTENTS

### PRELIMINARIES

#### INTRODUCTION

1

#### CHAPTER I. HEINSE - WIELAND. WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HEINSE'S LIGHTNING IMAGERY

9

1. Heinse's goals in the *Stanzas*: new expressiveness; emulating and surpassing Wieland; the upholding of a high aesthetic standard. 9

2. Heinse's treatment of borrowings from Wieland 22

Unavoidable copying (23)--"Rosenblut"--real blood (25)  
--Kisses-"Liebesbisse" (26)--The first real "Heinsean"  
utterance (27)--"Reizendes Gewühl"; "hundert Augen"  
(29)--Invisible fetters; cherubs (31)--"ein großer  
Liebesgott" (34)--"Sich waschen" - bathing (36)-  
-Heinse's reporting talent (37)

3. Wieland's "Lücken". Part 1. 40

Ariosto's 'gap in the manuscript' (40)--Forces of  
nature in Almina's look (42)

4. Thunder and lightning in Heinse's writing. 43

Flashes of lightning as brothers (44)--Lightning  
articulating the triumphant indestructability theme (46)  
--Lightning signifying the "other"ness of poets  
and "Genieen" (49)--Mediocre beings (54)--The thunder-  
storm as part of a girl's education (adjectives) (56)--  
Thunder and lightning used for the intensified present-  
ation of "Leidenschaft" (57)--"Durchwetterleuchten";  
Heinse as "Sprachmeister" (58)--Devastation and death  
as intensification (62)--Idris's "Zauberdegen" (66)-  
-The "süßer Blitz" of a kiss (69)--Lightning to  
depict "Herrlichkeit des Entzückens" and "die Dinge  
wie sie sind" (72)--No exclamatory "Blitz und Wetter!" (72)

5. Wieland's "Lücken". Part 2. 74

Wieland's "half-ness" - Heinse's "full-ness" (74)-  
Wieland's "Polster" - Heinse's "Natur" (75)--Wieland's  
and Heinse's "Rosenbüsche" (75)--Wieland's intimate  
boudoir titillation - Heinse's open air mass frenzy (77)  
The "Knittelvers" in Heinse's *ottave rime* and as  
Wieland's "Lücke" (80)--Its spectre in the *Stanzas*  
(81)--The "Mittelsmann-Lücke" (80)--The "Lücke" by means  
of feigned ignorance, and by address to the reader (82)  
The unbridgeable divide between Heinse and Wieland (85)  
"Hohe Schönheit" - Heinse's Feeling for Beauty (86)

6. Heinse in the *Geniezeit* 88

A Dionysian exploitation of the mode of *Empfindsamkeit*/  
*Anakreontik* (90)--Heinse as "bildender Künstler"  
with words (95)--Beyond Wieland (100)

## CHAPTER II. HEINSE - WINCKELMANN. WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HEINSE'S STORM IMAGERY

### 1. Heinse contra Winckelmann in the first *Gemähldebrief*. 101

Winckelmann's achievement and aim (101)--The *Gemähldebriefe*; dynamic verbs (104)--Klopstock's influence (105) The inadequate word (106)--*Sturm und Drang* "Unbekümmertheit" (108)--"Nominalstil" (110)--Aesthetic awareness (111)--Organic harmony (112)--"Kraftsprache" (116)--"Erstes Wehen der Schönheit" (117)--Greek art "fremdschön" (118)--"Stormy" enjoyment of sensuous beauty - "das/der Edle" (120)--Eros and beauty (121)--The "Gefühl für Schönheit" formulated (124)--"Kritzeleyen" (128)--Eight "Wie ...?" queries to Winckelmann, breaking syntax (130)--Homely and elevated language side by side (136)--"Einer" (137)--No dallying with beauty (142)--Importance of "äußere Sinne" (143)--"Nachäfferey" - "ein neues lebendiges Ganzes" (146)--"Kernmenschen" - the Rubens tale (147)--Winckelmann "wunderwüdig abgewogen" (154)

### 2. Excursus: The "Schwärmer" in Heinse's positive and negative sense. 157

### 3. The descriptions of paintings in the first *Gemähldebrief*. 173

Apology for syntactical intricacy (174)--Composite adjectives (175)--Diminutives: "Geistesbildung/Kindereinfalt" (176)--Present participles (179)--"Zug nach Natur" (181) Heinse's journalistic instinct demonstrated (182)--"Ungezwungenheit" in lengthy syntax (182)--Astute art criticism (184)--Substantivised adjectives (185)--"Gefühl und Geist" (188)--The restless active spirit (190)--The Reni Madonna: "Getragenheit" (195)--*Pietismus*-inspired *Empfindsamkeit* (197)--*Sturm-und-Drang* tone to Klinger (202)--"Feuerwallen des höchsten Lebens" (203) Susanna: description as gripping commentary (207)

### 4. The descriptions of Rubens paintings in the second *Gemähldebrief*. 209

Ellipsis (210)--Verbless massing; not "Leidenschaftsprache" (212)--Wealth of dynamic verbs (217)--Heinse's "kongeniale Sprachgewalt" (217)--*Sturm-und-Drang* tone (221)--Artistry with words (223)--Imagined speech (225)--Kastor model for Ardinghello? (226)--"Lebensgröße" (227) Landscape mirrored in syntax (229)--Attunement to Rubens's painterly technique (231)--"Fleiß" (232)--Rubens: "großer Mensch" (234)--Semblance of divine: ecstatic speech (235)--"Große herkulische Genieen" (237) "Genie" and "großer Mensch" not interchangeable terms (238)--The "übervermögende Seele" (241)

### 5. Conclusion 242

CHAPTER III. ARDINGHELLO - WERTHER. WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE  
TO FIRE IMAGERY AND TO NATURE DESCRIPTIONS

1. Introduction 244
2. Points of contact and contrast between *Ardinghello* and *Werther*. 245  
Both epochmaking (245)--Same attitude to society (246)  
"Gefühlsmensch"- "Tatmensch" (248)--Different modes  
of utterance: focus on "Herz"/"das "Schöne" (249)-  
-Both "Briefromane" (250)
3. "Thränen" in *Werther* and *Ardinghello*. 251  
Greatest impact of both works through language; both  
"hinreißend" (251)--The unsentimental "Gefühl von  
Thräne" (252)--Heinse's introduction to *Werther* (254)--  
*Empfindsamkeit* defined (255)--*Empfindsamkeit* in  
*Laidion* (256)--"Empfinderei"-tearless compassion (258)  
The fire fable (258)--Tears in *Werther* (fn.260-  
261)--"Ätherische Zärtlichkeiten" (262)--"der weinende  
Feuerblick" (263)--Aesthetic depiction of emotion (264)  
Balance of positive and negative elements in Heinse's  
style (266)--Non-erotic descriptions (267)
4. Fire imagery in *Ardinghello* and *Werther*. 270  
Negative fire imagery in *Werther* (270)--Heinse's  
affinity with fire (271)--Nietzsche's fire imagery  
not like Heinse's (273)--"Das Leben zehrt den Tod  
auf" (274)--Optimistic realism; balanced world (275)-  
"Ach" (276)--"Leben, Bewegung, Feuer" (279)--Language  
of *Werther*: "Abgebrochenheit"; of *Ardinghello*: flow  
(280)--"Kern"- "Schale" (281)--"Wie" (282)
5. Landscape descriptions. 285  
Few self-references by Heinse; balancing element (286)  
"Schäumender Becher" (287)--Swans ("Bild der Lust")  
and Vesuvius portraying extra-ordinariness (288)-  
No personification of God by Heinse (291)--"Großer  
Mensch" mirrored by volcano (292)--The Heinsean  
linguistic upsurge (293)--The waterfall of the  
Rhine (295)--Manifestation of the *Sturm und Drang*  
individual (296)--The ultimate verbal challenge  
(297)--Extraordinary language (298)--Telling "wie  
es ist" (300)--Evocation of Klopstock (302)--"Der  
Mensch steht davor" (303)-- The "Strom des Genies"  
(304)--*Sturm und Drang* vocabulary; Heinse's plans  
for an Italian journal (305)

6. "Das Gefühl für Schönheit" in Heinse's  
Nature descriptions.

306

Purposeful notebook modifications (308)--The beauty of the sunrise (309)--"Modernity" of Heinse's language (310)--The refreshing quality of Heinse's language (311)--The moon in *Werther* (312)--Dusk and the moon rising (314)--Goethe's and Heinse's shared "Gefühl für Schönheit" (315)--The aesthetic moment (316)--"Genuß" (318)--Heinse's painterly feat of writing (319)--"Die schöne Welt"; "dämmern" (321)--Nature, the work of art (322)--Nature aesthetically experienced by Heinse (323)--Cäcilia, personified beauty in Nature (324)--"Seelige Augenblicke". No aesthetic liberation for *Werther*. (326)-Balancing achievable for Ardinghello by aesthetic experience (328) "Darstellung des Schönen" seen as Heinse's "Grund-idee" in *Ardinghello* (328)

CONCLUSION

331

APPENDICES

338

BIBLIOGRAPHY

350

## SUMMARY

In the introduction to this thesis attention is drawn to the difficulties of classification concerning Wilhelm Heinse's work, a factor which is found to be in turn contributing to his undeserved obscurity. The proposed solution to the problem, namely, making Heinse's style and language the key by which to gain recognition for him, is supported by reference to an extensive appendix. The chapter-based examination of Heinse's lightning, storm, and fire imagery is explained.

Chapter I uses Heinse's *Stanzén* and Wieland's *Idris und Zenide* as a main base for comparison (a method of comparison having been adopted as best for showing the new-ness of Heinse). Heinse's different, often boldly new expressiveness and his advance beyond Wieland are demonstrated. Heinse's lightning imagery serves to define the "Genie" concept.

Chapter II concentrates on Heinse's *Gemähldebrieft*, where, in their indirect function as a polemic against Winkelmann's aesthetic teachings, Heinse achieves new heights for the descriptive word, showing himself to be equivalent in his medium to a "bildender Künstler". The concurrent focus on Heinse's storm imagery brings with it a detailed discussion of the concept of the "Schwärmer", and of that of the "großer Mensch" as manifested in Rubens.

Chapter III compares the language of Heinse's *Ardinghello* with that of Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, and defines Heinse's distance from *Empfindsamkeit*. With the focus on fire, the element with special affinity to Ardinghello, and to Heinse, the trilogy of imagery Lightning - Storm - Fire is completed. Heinse's Nature descriptions are found to confirm his outstanding verbal mastery whether relaying Nature's "höchstes Leben" or its serene beauty. An underlying profound aesthetic awareness is shown to be a crucial component in the factors making up the special quality of Heinse's language.

The conclusion finds Heinse's style and language to fit at times into that of the *Sturm und Drang*, but in general to be uniquely "Heinsean", informed by a genuine insight into art and classical culture, a feeling for beauty, an emphasis on life and motion, a vitalistic and erotic, ecstatic cosmic vision - and the ability to captivate the reader by his unsurpassed descriptive artistry.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- DW - Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*  
(Leipzig, 1854-1954)
- GK - Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der  
Kunst des Alterthums*, (Dresden, 1764)
- KS - Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften  
und Briefe*, ed. by Wilhelm Seuff, (Weimar, 1960)
- RA - Wilhelm Heinse, *Ardinghello und die glückseligen  
Inseln*, Critical edition by Max L. Baeumer,  
(Stuttgart, 1975)
- WSW - C.M. Wieland, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. by "Hamburger  
Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und  
Kultur" in Zusammenarbeit mit dem "Wieland-  
Archiv" und Hans Radspieler (Hamburg, 1984)
- ZZ - *Wilhelm Heinse in Zeugnissen seiner Zeitgenossen*,  
ed. by A. Leitzmann (Jena, 1938)

## INTRODUCTION

Dieser Mensch gehörte nicht unter die Thoren dieser Erde  
und war eines beßern Schicksals werth.

(The young Heinse on himself; IX,26)

The aim of this thesis is to help resolve an astonishing and highly unsatisfactory state of affairs which exists concerning Johann Jakob Wilhelm Heinse. On the one hand he is held to be "der bedeutendste Antipode Winckelmanns, Schillers und Goethes";<sup>1</sup> "zweifellos eine der größten Möglichkeiten deutscher Prosa";<sup>2</sup> an author to whom may be assigned "a rank of exceptional importance".<sup>3</sup> On the other hand the approaching final decade of the twentieth century finds Heinse still known only to a handful of specialists;<sup>4</sup> current literary opinion (in 1980) ranks him as at most second-rate;<sup>5</sup> Germanists in general have (in 1986) little knowledge of Heinse;<sup>6</sup> he is one of the least-known figures in German literary history (in 1988).<sup>7</sup>

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1. Manfred Dick, *Der junge Heinse in seiner Zeit*, München, 1980, p.10.

2. August Langen, 'Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart', in *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß*, 1957, I, column 1137.

3. Victor Lange, *The Classical Age of German Literature, 1740-1815*, London, 1982, p.81.

4. "Heinse ist heute kaum über engste Fachkreise hinaus bekannt".  
Otto Keller, *Wilhelm Heinses Entwicklung zur Humanität*, Bern und München, 1972, p.249.

5. "Dieser nach gängigem Urteil doch höchstens nur zweit-rangige Autor". M.Dick, op.cit., p.9.

6. "Am Standard germanistischer Durchschnittskenntnisse gemessen, ist Wilhelm Heinse ein weitgehend unbekannter Autor."  
Jürgen Schramke, *Wilhelm Heinse und die Französische Revolution*, Tübingen, 1986, p.1.



It can already be deduced from the above that mediocrity is unlikely to be a reason why Heinse has still not attained recognition. As H.Laube confirms: "Mittelmäßig ist nichts an ihm".<sup>8</sup> There are, however, at least two reasons for Heinse's continuing obscurity. The first lies outside the scope of this enquiry and stems from Heinse's "kühne Verherrlichung der freien Sinnlichkeit",<sup>9</sup> in other words, his stance at times beyond conventional morality, and the ensuing persistent aura of a vague unsavouriness, which lingers on in still much-consulted large-scale literary surveys such as those by H.A.Korff<sup>10</sup> and E. Ermatinger.<sup>11</sup> The second reason is more to the point here and concerns the difficulty of period classification in connection with Heinse. There is a bewildering array of often contradictory opinions. Where classification tends to *Sturm und Drang*, beside its "titanism" imitation of Wieland (*Rokoko?*) is claimed to be detectable;<sup>12</sup> or the influence of Gleim (*Anakreontik?*).<sup>13</sup> H.Hettner allots

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7. "Wilhelm Heinse gehört zu den unbekanntesten Gestalten der deutschen Literaturgeschichte".

Gerd-Klaus Kaltenbrunner, 'Die Nackten und die Schönen' in *Mut*, Nr.252, August 1988, p.53.

8. Ed., *Wilhelm Heinse's Sämtliche Schriften*, Leipzig, 1838, I, p.IV.

9. Richard Wagner, *Autobiographische Skizze*, 1843, quoted from *Wilhelm Heinse, Ardinghello und die glückseligen Inseln*, Kritische Studienausgabe, ed.Max L.Baeumer, Stuttgart, 1975, (hereafter: RA), p.583

10. *Geist der Goethe-Zeit*, Leipzig, 1953., p.258

11. *Deutsche Dichter.1700-1900*, Bonn, 1948.pp.257-265

12. Gilbert Waterhouse, *A short History of German Literature*, London, 1959, p.57. Also:

13. W.Scherer, *A History of German Literature*, Oxford, 1886, p.128

Heinse "ganz und gar" a *Sturm und Drang* place.<sup>14</sup> Others are not so certain. F.J.Schneider for instance sees Heinse as not really a "Sohn der Geniezeit", nor as belonging to the realism and naturalism of Lenz, [H.L.]Wagner, and Maler Müller, nor to the *Empfindsamkeit* of Miller, Jung, Hippel, and Moritz.<sup>15</sup> Rita Terras devotes a long footnote to the pro-and-contra *Sturm und Drang* voices concerning Heinse's classification.<sup>16</sup> For L.Eitner he does represent Storm and Stress, but shows also the survival of Baroque attitudes in Neoclassicism.<sup>17</sup> (For Terras, too, Heinse is a "Zurückblickender").<sup>18</sup> For A.Eloesser he is a southern-orientated representative of "Genietum", a "Vitalist" who, though in touch with the *Barock*, is also a "Vorromantiker" who advances right into the midst of the *Romantik*.<sup>19</sup> W.Rose even discovers seeds of "Weltschmerz" in Heinse.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand he is seen as a "Spätaufklärer";<sup>21</sup> as "klassisch geartet";<sup>22</sup> then again as *not* to have managed the step from *Sturm und Drang* to Classicism.<sup>23</sup> The Dionysian

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14. *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, III, 1. p. 245.

15. *Die deutsche Dichtung der Geniezeit*, Stuttgart, 1952, pp. 333-334.

16. *Wilhelm Heinses Ästhetik*, München, 1972, pp. 130-131.

17. *Neoclassicism and Romanticism*, ed. L.Eitner, London, 1971, I, p. 79.

18. Terras, op.cit., p. 14.

19. *Deutsche Literatur vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1930, I, p. 320; pp. 361-366.

20. *From Goethe to Byron*, London, 1924, pp. 147-151.

21. J.Schramke, op.cit., p. 1.

22. H.Laube, op.cit., p. LXXV.

23. E.Hock, *Postscript to Ardinghello und die glückseligen Inseln*, Leipzig, 1961<sup>5</sup>, p. 359.

dimension is found to be the yardstick to apply to Heinse's work;<sup>24</sup> he is "der Nietzsche des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts",<sup>25</sup> "wohl der erste große Heide in der deutschen Geistesgeschichte";<sup>26</sup> but is also considered to be a Humanist.<sup>27</sup> His work is seen as impressionistic and expressionistic.<sup>28</sup> R. Benz sums up the situation:<sup>29</sup>

Heinse ist weder der Klassik noch der Romantik zuzuordnen, er geht weder im einseitigen Rationalismus der Aufklärung noch im Gefühlsüberschwang des Sturm und Drang völlig auf.

Benz here highlights the dilemma concerning Heinse, which is made all the more irksome since, as Benz points out, he is outstanding in his writing on art and music (K.D.Jessen acclaims him as "der erste bedeutende deutsche Kunstfeuilletonist" (RA,596)) and he is thus the only eighteenth century writer in whom is captured the whole cultural spirit of his age "in echter Einheit". In view of the inevitable frustration which must meet any attempt at neatly categorising Heinse it is deplorable, though not surprising, that he, this "wichtige Glied"<sup>30</sup> in the chain of German

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24. M.L.Baeumer, *Das Dionysische in den Werken Wilhelm Heines*, Bonn, 1964, p.124.

25. E.Ermatinger, *op.cit.*, p.265.

26. G.-K.Kaltenbrunner, *op.cit.*, p.64.

27. As indicated by the title of O.Keller's work (fn.4 above).

28. As shown for instance in Appendix 1,37),45),46).

29. *Wilhelm Heinse. Aus Briefen, Werken, Tagebüchern*, ed. R.Benz, Stuttgart, 1958, pp.3-4.

30. H.Laube, *op.cit.* p.V: "Es fehlte uns ein wichtiges Glied in der Kette unseres literarischen Schmuckes, wenn uns Heinse abhanden wäre".

literary history, remains overlooked to such an extent that for instance the sixteen-volume Reclam publication *Deutsche Literatur in Text und Darstellung* (1978) limits Heinse to one line in a small-print synopsis (Vol.VII.p.318).

Yet, a way out of this impasse must be found, the attempt must be made to help establish once and for all this writer whom Brentano described as "eine der wunderbarsten poetischen Naturen", <sup>31</sup> whom André Gide counted among the "großen Leute", <sup>32</sup> this "Zauberer der Landschaftsschilderung", <sup>33</sup> this writer who is credited with the first "Künstler-" or better, "Kunstroman" and the first novel using a Renaissance background, <sup>34</sup> also the first writer to introduce the type of the emancipated woman, and the first modern art analyst, and - particularly important in the context of this study: the first writer to bring about what Jessen calls "etwas Unerhörtes, Nochniedagewesenes", <sup>35</sup> namely, the matching of the descriptive word in complete aesthetic empathy to the product of another branch of art. As Benz puts it:

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31. Albert Leitzmann, *Wilhelm Heinse in Zeugnissen seiner Zeitgenossen*, Jena, 1938, p.43. (Hereafter: ZZ)

32. Gide's reaction to Germany's indifference to Heinse, "Die Deutschen wüßten eben gar nicht, was für große Leute sie hätten", is quoted from Gustav Hillard's *Herren und Narren der Welt*, München, 1954, p.318f., by K.-G. Kaltenbrunner, op.cit., p.71.

33. Walther Brecht, *Heinse und der ästhetische Immoralismus*, Berlin, 1911, p.XI.

34. The clarification is made by M.L.Baeumer, RA, 641, 717. Th.Gräße (RA, 584) uses the term "Kunstroman" already in 1848 for *Ardinghello*, which has gained "eine bleibende Stelle unter Deutschlands klassischen Romanen". J.Schober (RA, 591) also makes Heinse the originator of the genre "Kunstroman" which influenced Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*.

35. K.D.Jessen, *Heinse's Stellung zur bildenden Kunst und ihrer Ästhetik*, Berlin, 1901, p.30.

Im Bereich der Sprache aber bedeutet Heinses Wiedergabe . . . daß das Wort überhaupt zum erstenmal die Macht des Bildenden nachhallt.<sup>36</sup>

Benz coins the phrase "kongeniale Sprachgewalt" to fit this linguistic phenomenon.<sup>37</sup> Heinse's "Sprachgewalt", his extraordinary mastery of descriptive prose, has hardly ever been equalled even today.<sup>38</sup> It has always received general, almost unanimous, high acclaim.<sup>39</sup> Clearly it, his language, is therefore the most promising area to explore if the figure of Wilhelm Heinse is to assume the clarity it still lacks, and if he is to take his rightful place in German literary history.

So far only one study has had Heinse's language as its object, that by Willi Montenbruck, of 1932.<sup>40</sup> The focus there is on the pre-Italy writings, and must therefore by definition give an incomplete account. Also, Montenbruck's lists of related vocabulary, though certainly helpful for reference purposes, make at times for somewhat tedious reading. It is in fact not easy to avoid becoming tedious when concentrating unremittingly on the language of one writer. This is a problem which the structure of the present study tries to take into account by resorting to a comparative method: Heinse's style and language is being evaluated by comparison with that of three

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36. *Aus Briefen, Werken, Tagebüchern*, p.14.

37. *Ibid.*, p.13

38. G.-K. Kaltenbrunner (op.cit., p.58), writing in 1988, stresses Heinse's "Meisterschaft der Darstellung" and quotes from the Rhine fall description by way of demonstrating Heinse's "Naturbeschwörung, die in deutscher Prosa kaum ihresgleichen hat".

39. In Appendix No.1 a list of favourable comment on Heinse's writing has been compiled for the first time. It makes no claim to completeness.

40. *Wilhelm Heinses Sprache bis zu seiner italienischen Reise*, Lippstadt.

other writers who influenced him,<sup>41</sup> and against whom he was to some degree measuring himself: Wieland, Winckelmann, and the young Goethe.<sup>42</sup> The three chapters which thus suggested themselves receive an extra anchor each by the additional themes of lightning, storm, and fire imagery respectively. These extra anchors were not part of the plan of this work as originally conceived, but rather emerged of their own accord during the process of assembling the first chapter. Scrutiny of Heinse's lightning, storm, and fire imagery which sometimes interrelates in a cohesive manner, adds an important dimension, helping the "Kern" of Heinse's language to emerge. It also helps to project Heinse's life-long fascination with the exceptional individual which, when widened to include great natural phenomena has proved here to be the key to unlock the secret of Heinse's language.

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41. This has meant that works with a relevant theme, but later publication dates, such as Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* of 1795/1796, or his *Italienische Reise* of 1816/1817, or his *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* of 1821, have not been considered here.

42. The idea of this structure and the suggestion of adopting it as a method came from Max L. Baeumer, and is here acknowledged with gratitude.

Professor Baeumer's suggestion also included Heinse's music novel *Hildegard von Hohenenthal* of 1795/1796, possibly in relation to any writing by Gluck or contemporary writing on music. This fascinating work is worth a study in its own right, but, after consideration, is not included here, because from the point of language and style it does not appear to advance beyond *Ardinghello*. The same, to a greater extent still, goes for Heinse's charming late work *Anastasia und das Schachspiel*, of 1803.

How has Wilhelm Heinse emerged from his inconspicuous place on the shelf of Glasgow University Library to become the subject of this study? The answer is: by good fortune. By good fortune two lines of interest were able to meet. It was also good fortune to have these interests awakened in the first place. Here Yvonne Parry's fascinating and still-treasured tutorials on "The Lyric" brought, by way of Hölderlin's dedication of the poem 'Brot und Wein', "An Heinze", for the first time attention to the name. The thought arose: if an outstanding work by a great poet bears this dedication the dedicatee must be *Somebody*! At the same time the tutorials on Nietzsche, conducted by Roger Stephenson with tireless real commitment, fostered the interest in the Dionysian dimension. This in turn led to perusal of Max L.Baeumer's important study *Das Dionysische in den Werken Wilhelm Heinses. Studie zum dionysischen Phänomen in der deutschen Literatur*. The two lines of interest had met. However, one then still needs the perhaps most important piece of good fortune, namely, the warm encouragement and practical support of the people who have between them created the conditions which made it possible to discern with utter confidence that here is indeed a writer who is "eines bessern Schicksals werth". This thesis is an attempt to contribute to securing a better chance of just recognition for Wilhelm Heinse.

## CHAPTER I

### HEINSE - WIELAND

#### WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HEINSE'S LIGHTNING IMAGERY

Will . . . so lyrische, elegische, stürmische und zärtliche Gesänge anstimmen, daß alles Herz entzückt und zerrissen und wiederzusammengeschmolzen werden, und wieder zerfließen und in Strahlen und Feuergüssen durch alles Wesen blitzen und strömen soll, will alles in Feuer und Brand setzen, und keine moralische Spritze soll löschen können.  
(From Heinse's letter to Gleim, 28 March 1775); (IX, 240)<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. HEINSE'S GOALS IN THE STANZEN<sup>2</sup>

With the *Stanzen* the young Wilhelm Heinse marks out a place for himself in literary history, and, although the work plainly shows his great indebtedness to his teacher Wieland, it also reveals itself as a polemic against his master, or, if not that, at least as a clear

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1. Roman followed by Arabic numerals in brackets without further reference refer respectively to volume and page number of *Wilhelm Heinse, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Carl Schüddekopf, 10 vols, vol.VIII ed. Albert Leitzmann, (Leipzig, 1902-1925). In the case of vol.VIII the first Arabic numeral refers to one of the three sections making up this volume.

Note: Full publication details of all subsequent works referred to will be found in the bibliography.

2. To avoid confusion the "*Stanzen*" is left untranslated as a title for this otherwise untitled poem.



attempt to equal or to better him.<sup>3</sup> In so doing it advances towards a new mode of poetic expression, in tune with that of the young Goethe, whose enthusiastic acclaim it received. He, the recent author of *Götter, Helden und Wieland*, found the work "leaving Wieland and Jacobi far behind" and its "melting colours" exceptional.<sup>4</sup>

How much Heinse owes to Wieland, and whether and in what manner he leaves Wieland "far behind" becomes apparent if one regards the *Stanzén* side by side with Wieland's *Idris und Zenide*, (hereafter: *Idris*). Lifting *Idris* out of Wieland's oeuvre for special consideration is justified by Heinse's own comparison of the work with his *Stanzén*, in his letter to Wieland of 10 or 11 December 1773. That they in their turn merit special interest is a fact Manfred Dick has been the first to draw attention to.<sup>5</sup> According to Dick the *Stanzén* demonstrate for the *Rokoko* epoch - in the same way as Goethe's *Werther* does for the epoch of *Empfindsamkeit* - the height of a literary tradition which at the same time is overcome in the advance into new regions. In order to achieve this advance Wieland

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3. See Max L. Baeumer's essay 'Mehr als Wieland seyn!', *Wilhelm Heinses Rezeption und Kritik des Wielandschen Werkes*', which throws new light on the relationship between Heinse and Wieland by introducing an element of scepticism into the commonly held view of "Heinses große Verehrung für Wielands Erzählkunst".

Such a view is expressed for instance by Otto Keller, *Wilhelm Heinses Entwicklung zur Humanität*, p.64.

4. See Appendix 1: 1), 3).

5. *Der junge Heinse in seiner Zeit*, pp.141-146.

is indispensable for Heinse, as a source of both style and themes, but also as an irritant, because of the particularly restrictive form in which Wieland presented these themes and this style. In a letter to Wieland of 8 December 1773 Heinse speaks of his intention of undertaking work on Italian poets, for instance on Tasso's *Orlando*, and looks askance at similar work by Meinhardt, "dessen Grenzen für meinen Geist viel zu enge und zu ängstlich sind" (IX,153), a pronouncement equally applicable to Heinse's view regarding certain aspects of Wieland's approach. It is important to clarify the nature and extent of these "Grenzen" which Heinse found too narrow and too timid.

Both *Idris*<sup>6</sup> and the *Stanzas*<sup>7</sup> have as their model the heroic epos. Wieland, however, immediately adjusts the tone by rejecting any martial airs and allying his muse with the "Grazien" in order to relate "das schöne Abenteuer von Idris und Zeniden" as a "Romantisches Gedicht". Whereas *Idris* is a lengthy account of the - often phantastic - adventures of the knight Idris and features among others the popular *Rokoko* theme "Bathing Beauty Spied

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6. C.M.Wieland, *Sämmtliche Werke*, (hereafter: *WSW*), VI,17, p.18. (In connection with *WSW*, Roman numerals refer to volumes of the Hamburg 1984 edition, the following Arabic numerals to the original (reprint) volume number printed inside.) See List of Abbreviations above.

7. The *Stanzas* were published in March 1774 as an appendix to *Laidion oder die Eleusinischen Geheimnisse*, (hereafter: *Laidion*), and consisted of fifty stanzas (hereafter: *St.*). In *St.*26 and *St.*27 Heinse replaced seven lines by dashes because of their risqué content. Wieland received an intact version of forty-two stanzas in December 1773.

Upon", this is the main theme of the *Stanzen* (St.s 7-43); (the *Stanzen* start at St.7). The work ends with Heinse's only verse account of his ecstatic cosmic vision. The *Stanzen* are cast as an episode of a projected heroic epos which the fictitious author of *Laidion*<sup>8</sup> is supposed to have appended to that work. His "schwärmerische Liebe zu den Musen" (III,197) signals - by the attribute "schwärmerisch" - that the emphasis is likely to be on "Enthusiasmus" and may thus clash with Wieland's conscious restraint. Wieland's declared purpose is "Ergetzen":

Man lese dich, man denke nichts dabey  
Als wie man angenehm sich um die Zeit betrüge.

However, embedded in this lightheartedness there lies the didactic element of the *Aufklärer* Wieland: "Spielend geben sie [the muses] den besten Unterricht".<sup>9</sup> Such a simultaneously didactic and entertaining principle is frequently present in Wieland's work, such as in the preface of *Araspes und Panthea*, where he announces "diesen ebenso lehrreichen wie unterhaltsamen Beytrag zur Geschichte des menschlichen Herzens."<sup>10</sup> And Heinse, paying lip service to his teacher, states as the purpose of his proposed

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8. Heinse wrote his first novel in Erfurt before 1772, "binnen 14 Tagen in den erbärmlichsten Umständen, wie ein Gefangner bey Waßer und Brod, von wahrer Canaille umgeben"(IX,26). He reworked it, which accounts for some of its unevenness. He also requested Gleim's refining scrutiny in order to evade censorship for publication. Hence the special plea on behalf of "meinem Gleime" in St.s 44 and 45, and the reference "bey Kampf und Lieb' und Wein" in St.56 to please Gleim, the prolific writer of patriotic and *Anakreontik* verse.

9. WSW, VI, 17, p.16.

10. WSW, V, 16, p.183.

letters on the life of Tasso: "um den Fürsten und Damen in Deutschland einige sehr heilsame, aber doch angenehme Wahrheiten zu schreiben"(IX,152). For Wieland the surface playfulness is often only the sugar-coating on a pill which contains, sometimes under a layer of gentle humorous resignation<sup>11</sup>, evidence of profound insight into the complex motivation of human behaviour, and perhaps at its heart a postulated ideal of harmony in which "Tugend" and "Sinnlichkeit" are of equal worth, and are still veiled in a smile. The motto: "Ridendo dicere verum" or: "Die Wahrheit lachend singen"<sup>12</sup> is taken very seriously by Wieland.

There is, however, a strikingly different hue to Heinse's "angenehme Wahrheiten" when examined in direct comparison with the "angenehmen Saft" with which Wieland envisages improving his audience while seemingly merely entertaining:

Wer die Menschen von ihren Irrthümern und Unarten heilen will, muß seine Arzneien durch Beimischung irgend eines angenehmen Saftes . . . angenehm zu machen wissen; und man unterrichtet und bessert sie nie gewisser, als wenn man das Ansehen hat, sie nur belustigen zu wollen.<sup>13</sup>

Wieland's *Aufklärung*-orientated and humanistic endeavour of "curing" mankind's ills and rectifying its errors by administering a curative with an admixture of pleasure

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11. M.Dick detects "das leise Gefühl eines Verlustes, eine heitere Resignation" in Wieland as a result of the "Desillusionierung des an die Autonomie glaubenden Tugend-schwärmers" whom Wieland unmasks as he reveals "die Bedingtheit des Menschen durch sinnliche Faktoren". (*Der junge Heinse*, pp.151,153).

12. WSW, II, 4, pp.11, 22.

13. *Wielands Werke*, ed.H.Düntzer, vol.XXX, p.7.

is overtaken by Heinse's new daring stipulation of the poet as the beguiling quencher of mankind's thirst for animal pleasures:

Die Dichter, antwortete der Weise, müssen oft den Menschen schmeicheln, ihren Durst nach thierischer Wollust ein wenig stillen - kurz, die weisen Dichter müssen die Menschen mit der Lockspeise der sinnlichen Vergnügungen zur Weisheit, zur Wahrheit fangen. (III,157)

Such blatant admission of Man's susceptibility to the "bait" of sensual pleasures is a definite step beyond Wieland's far less outspoken, though often hinted awareness of it. Nor is Heinse's "Weisheit" and "Wahrheit" likely to be the ideal of highest rational achievement of the earlier 18th century, to which much of Wieland is heir, but rather the "Bacchidionische Weisheit", to which the young Heinse recounts being initiated in the midst of Nature<sup>14</sup> by two beautiful young girls (IX,5). The beginnings of a distancing process from Wieland are evident in Heinse's early view of the poet in society: no longer, like Wieland, administering a spoonful of - sensuous - sugar with the - instructive and moral-medicine, but using this spoonful of sugar for encouraging and pandering to human desire for joyous sensuous earthly existence.

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14. The occasional capitalisation of abstract nouns such as "Nature", "Beauty", "Art" is undertaken in this study where it is appropriate to indicate the importance of the concept for Heinse.

Heinse's handling of the metric form of the *Stanzen* reinforces this distancing process. Wieland, introducing the 1768 edition of *Idris*, had explained in detail his reasons for modifying the strict *ottave rime* of the classical Italian heroic epos (like Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*) for his own purpose.<sup>15</sup> Wieland finds this liberty necessitated by the otherwise insurmountable<sup>16</sup> difficulties caused by the unpliant German language. Heinse, in his letter to Wieland, turns that statement by a near-verbatim quotation<sup>17</sup> into an opening gambit for himself, in order to proclaim, not very modestly, that he had achieved something "wenigstens hundert mahl schwerer als die freye Stanze im *Idris*" through his own regular Italian stanzas, thus clearly elevating himself above his master and stating that Wieland's standards are not his own.

Wieland in his introduction goes on to claim - and the self-satisfied tone of the claim may well have been what needled the musical Heinse: that in the hands of a poet endowed with an ear for "Wohlklang und Numerus" -

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15. Wieland explains that in contrast to the Italian model the stanzas in *Idris* 1) have iambs of between eight and thirteen syllables, arbitrarily used, 2) the two rhymes of the first six lines may be freely arranged, 3) masculine and feminine rhymes alternate and can appear at will in first or last place.

16. In the 1796 edition of *Idris* Wieland omits the reference to the "insurmountable" difficulties, perhaps conceding the point to Heinse, who had proved them not to be insurmountable.

17. Heinse (mis?)quotes "unendlich" instead of "unüberwindlich" in respect of the difficulties.

this liberty can become a rich source of musical beauty, avoiding the monotony of the *ottave rime* by a "weit schönerer Periodenbau". Yet Heinse finds no trace of monotony in the classical model and points to Klopstock as evidence of the detrimental effect of deviation from it:

Der reine, wohlklingende Vers des Ariosto, Virgils und Homers ist mir unendlich angenehmer, als alle die donnernden Beywörter Klopstocks samt deßen foltern-den Metris; die Vollkommenheit eines Wagens kann wohl nicht in dem brausenden Rasseln bestehen. (IX, 171)

"Singability", ("Singbarkeit"), another of Wieland's criteria leading him to abandon the strict form, is in Heinse's view exactly a reason for retaining it, especially if the smoothness of the Italian language is approximated, as he claims to have done, by a rest on each fourth syllable. Relating with faked ruefulness earlier failed experiments with freer verse permits Heinse to express wittily his own musical ear's strong repugnance for the shortcomings of such rhymes.

There may seem to be a contradiction here between this rejection by Heinse of Wieland's less strict stanza and his criticism of another writer earlier on as being "zu eng und ängstlich". The young Heinse's urge to break out of the boundaries of literary tradition in the search for new, fuller articulation doubtlessly exists. Equally without doubt though is also the presence of a quality in Heinse which in fact is never really absent, an essential strand which must always be included in any appreciation of Heinse, and which therefore runs like a red thread through this study: it is, simply put, a powerful

innate Feeling for Beauty. As Heinse matures and as life presents him with opportunities for the full development and articulation of this quality it reveals itself more and more as of deep significance for his work; it may in fact be its most profound underlying factor.

Here it is in early evidence as an ideal aesthetic standard which holds as inviolate classical poetic form or other forms of art from classical antiquity or the Italian Renaissance<sup>18</sup> and places Heinse at times in the vicinity of Winckelmann. It is a standard which makes him intolerant towards interference with any aspect of classical Beauty, be it with the imperious beauty of Ariosto's stanza form ("wider die Majestät desselben", (III,198)), or with that of the figure of Diana from Tassoni's *Endymion*,<sup>19</sup> both of whom Wieland tampers with and so, in Heinse's view, degrades. Heinse wards off Wieland's accusation that the *Stanzen* offend against decorum, and for his part accuses his teacher of having very much overstepped this "moralische Schönheitslinie" when Diana, in Wieland's *Komische Erzählungen*, having been unable to resist the charms of the sleeping Endymion, has to submit to the advances of a rough satyr in a vain attempt to buy his silence. "Setzen Sie einmal Ihre Diana, die Sie einem Satyr überlaßen, gegen meine Almina[from the *Stanzen*]", Heinse firmly challenges Wieland, "Ihre Behandlung ist raisonirt,

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18. M.L.Baeumer ('Mehr als Wieland seyn', p.143) speaks of "ein neuer 'griechischer' Maßstab, der für Heinse in der italienischen Renaissance fortlebte".

19. Two of Tassoni's stanzas Heinse describes as "classisch schön". (II,343)



meine im Taumel der Phantasie begangen worden" (IX;183).

For Heinse Wieland's offence consists in debasing the figure of one of the most innocent and beautiful Greek goddesses to the level of prostitution, and in archly savouring one blush-provoking hint after the other, in a spirit of comic detachment, i.e. "raisonnirt". The oath to Wieland, in which Heinse promises to write nothing in future not fit for the ears of the initiates of "Ihre komische Erzählungen" is, far from being remorsefully submissive, as it sounds on the surface, in fact a repudiation of Wieland's comic mode:

Bey diesem allen gelob' ich Ihnen hiermit heilig an, in Zukunft, so viel in meinen Kräften steht, keine Zeile zu schreiben, die nicht vor denen Vestalen gelesen werden könnte, denen man Ihre komische Erzählungen, und Ihren Amadis vorlesen darf; mit dem besten Discernement sey dieses hiermit angelobt. (IX,183)

In the introduction to the *Stanzas* the implied criticism of Wieland is almost mocking. Posing as their editor, Heinse is able to laud the unusual poetic talent of their author - himself. Provocatively echoing Wieland's phrases from the *Idris* introduction he describes how, faced with almost insurmountable difficulties posed by the nature of the German language, the author yet chose the regular Italian stanza and strictly observed the caesura after the fourth syllable, "wo Personen in lyrischer Begeisterung reden", thus adhering to the rules governing a serious epic poem, not a comic one. With the announcement of serious intent the line is drawn between Heinse and Wieland, the master of "Geschmack" and "Witz," who never steps outside the playful, carefully

screened-off world of *Rokoko* "Tändelei" - though he likes his reader to know that he could easily do so.<sup>20</sup>

In Heinse's negative evaluation of Wieland this is a manifestation of the comic spirit, in direct opposition to his own alliance with "Rührung". Baeumer was the first to discuss Heinse's differentiation between "Spott" and "Rührung", between "das Komische" and "das Rührende", finding it sometimes in direct contrast to present definition of these terms.<sup>21</sup> The fact that Heinse

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20. An example of this technique occurs in *Die Grazien*, (WSW, III, 10, pp. 22-26). The young Bacchus and the young Venus meet for the first time and are irresistibly attracted to each other. At the point where "die poetischen Götter" (rulers presumably over the form of suitable reading matter for the polite world) become threatened by possible subordination to the authority of "Natur", Wieland decides that his self-imposed "Grenze" has been reached. He breaks off the narrative and assures his listener that he will suppress the next half dozen verses - and thus stifle what might well have been his finest inspiration - by creating, in conjurer fashion ("Hier steht es!") a screening rosebush ("ein schönes dicht gewebtes Rosengebüsche").

21. As Baeumer explains: "Das 'Komische' bedeutet zwar auch für Heinse Satire, Spott, leichte Empfindungen, geistreiche Parodie, allgemeine Heiterkeit und gewagte Erotik. Besonders aber ist für ihn alles 'komisch', was ihm an Wieland negativ erscheint, verstandesmäßige 'Erfindung', 'schmelzende Zärtlichkeit', Albernheit, 'kindische' Aufführung, 'Meister in Anlegung und Bearbeitung', und Poesie 'ohne Genie', bloß durch Kunst'. [...] 'Rührung' meint für Heinse nicht Rührseligkeit, Mitleid und tugendhafte Entsagung im bürgerlichen Milieu, sondern Empfindung, die 'tief in's Herz gehen soll', Einfalt der Natur und vor allem 'Genie' und 'Leidenschaft, mit starken Meisterzügen geschildert'. ('Mehr als Wieland seyn', p. 142)

See also pp. 145-146 where Baeumer is the first to draw attention to Heinse's continuing negative stance towards Wieland.

establishes himself in a spirit of "Enthusiasmus" in an opposing camp to the comic spirit of Wieland is not a mere passing whim, or a young poet's self-assertion. It remained, as Baeumer shows, Heinse's unaltered conviction, to which he gave renewed expression in aphoristic bluntness in the last ten years of his life:

Der komische Geist und der Geist des Enthusiasmus  
tödliche Feinde. (VIII,3,113)

In the letter to Wieland of 2 January 1774 the distancing is more muted, but just as definite. "Zu stark, zu kräftig, zu übertrieben", he claims to be one lady's overheard comment on the *Stanzen*, and has her continue:

Ausserdem müssen sie auch noch weggelöscht werden,  
weil ein so helles Sonnenlicht bey dergleichen Dingen  
den Augen weh thut. (IX,180)

The practice of deleting or omitting what might offend against decorum: "auslassen" and "weglöschen",<sup>22</sup> in which incidentally Wieland was following Ariosto's example, was an intolerable obstacle for Heinse's evolving new goal of "Rührung" - in his sense: of bringing about the reader's passionate involvement, shaking his equilibrium to the core by the unrestrained fire of the writer's imagination, i.e. "heiß aus der Seele", untrammelled by convention, "helles Sonnenlicht" in place of Wieland's "Dämmerung von Rosen". "Weil ich die Lücken nach dem Beyspiel des Originalgenies Ariosto nicht dulden kann" (IX,180), is one of Heinse's main justifications for having undertaken

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22. Heinse added a footnote to the deleted part of the *Stanzen*: "Das Ausgelassene ist zu lyrisch, zu brennend für das sanfte Gefühl der unschuldigen Deutschen". (Quoted by Schüddekopf, Kritischer Anhang, III,632).

a full illumination of an erotic encounter "mit den feurigsten Strahlen der Phantasie".

The *Stanzen* with their erotic theme ought to be comic territory, by Aristotelean and by Rokoko standards, in the same way that Wieland calls his erotic poems "*Komische*" *Erzählungen*, and the tale of Diana and Endymion "eine scherzhafte Erzählung". It is clear, however, that Heinse is intent on departing from this norm: for here an erotic experience is to be treated as "ernsthaft", in ecstatic language,<sup>23</sup> "im Taumel der Begeisterung". As M.Dick emphasises: "Nicht das 'delectare', sondern das 'movere' der erotischen Leidenschaft wird hier angestrebt".<sup>24</sup> Undoubtedly this is Heinse's goal; and if there is any "almost insurmountable" difficulty for him connected

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23. In his important study *Das Dionysische in den Werken Wilhelm Heinses* M.L.Baeumer speaks of Heinse's "ekstatischen Sprache und Dichtungsart" and points out that already in *Laidion* the young writer's language rises at times to the level of hymnic solemnity. There are thus clearly detectable signs already in the earlier work of the desire to break out of the mode of "Scherzen", "Tändeln", and "Kurzweilen".

Baeumer, *Das Dionysische*, p.106

24. M.Dick (*Der junge Heinse*, pp.123-147) discusses *Laidion* and the *Stanzen* in more detail than has been the case up to now. He draws attention to the weightiness of the stanza form chosen by Heinse for the description of a bacchanalian bathing scene (pp.140-141) in *Laidion*, and to its destructive effect on the formal Rokoko principle of "spielerische Anmut und Leichtigkeit". This is another pointer towards Heinse's more serious approach to such a subject.

(The first detailed discussion of *Laidion* was undertaken in 1972 by Otto Keller, *Wilhelm Heinses Entwicklung zur Humanität*, pp.46-66).

with the composition of the *Stanzas* Heinse - befitting his claim of fiery spontaneity, "heiß aus der Seele" - makes light of it to Wieland:

Uebrigens haben mich diese 40 Stanzas nicht zu viel Mühe gekostet, in zwo Nächten, ich betheur' es Ihnen beym Apoll und den Musen! hab ich sie an meinem Klavier aus der Seele gesungen. (IX,173)

There is, however, the considerable encumbrance of what Laube calls the "stereotype Chiffersprache"<sup>25</sup> of *Anakreontik* and *Rokoko* origin, the stock-in-trade of much poetic expression of the time. This threatens to get in the way as Heinse gropes for a new expressiveness, one which is at once more direct, more complete, more honest, and more powerful, in order to achieve his goal: that deep emotional impact, right into the heart of the reader.

## 2. HEINSE'S TREATMENT OF BORROWINGS FROM WIELAND

Heinse is at this early stage in his development like a person trying to master a new language for which his evolving vocabulary as yet imperfectly equips him, and who is therefore forced back on the reserves of his old language to patch up the shortcomings and make himself understood. At the same time the beauty and inventiveness of the Wieland model which Heinse aims to emulate or surpass is such that he can often do no better than absorb parts of it into his own; whether

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25. H. Laube, ed. *Heinse's Schriften*, p. XLII.

unconsciously or deliberately copying is impossible to tell. In the process the Wieland original is mostly taken over intact, yet acquires a new energy and a new seriousness.<sup>26</sup>

A straightforward copy is made for instance of the term "Schlangen- und Wellenlinien"<sup>27</sup> describing the attractiveness of a female face. Here is Wieland:

Sie hätte mir so schöne lange Locken  
Von feinstem Gold und weich wie seidne Flocken? -  
"Vollkommen so!" - ein solch Ovalgesicht,  
So feine Züg und alles lauter Schlangen-  
Und Wellen-Linien? So sanfte Rosen-Wangen,  
Und um und um mit Grazien behangen, / Wie eu're? <sup>28</sup>

The term reappears in Heinse's prose as follows:

Ihr Gesicht ist mit keiner Schönheit zu vergleichen;  
wer die süßeste Wollust mit erhabner Gottheit in  
den schönsten Schlangen- und Wellenlinien sich denken  
kann, der mag ein Ideal von Schönheit in seiner  
Phantasie haben, das mit diesem Gesicht eine Aehnlichkeit hat. *Laidion*, (III,9)

In Wieland's case the speaker is Paris who is questioning Venus about the incredibly beautiful Helene and may be forgiven for a certain excited vagueness of phrase

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26. St.25 is an exception: "O stehe still Almina! stehe stille! / O warte doch, dort liegt ja dein Gewand! / Wo läufst du hin so nackend ohne Hülle! / Bedenke doch, Prinzessin, deinen Stand!" In these four lines Heinse slips right into the absurdly comical world of *Der neue Amadis* (WSW, II, 4, 5), where several silly princesses are dealt with derisively by Wieland. (Schatulliöse dashes off, losing most of her clothes; Leoparde gets out of her bath and also dashes off, naked.)

27. A likely reference to Hogarth's *Zergliederung des Schönen*, translated by Mylius, (Berlin, 1754), in which the "Schlangenlinie" is presented as the most pleasing for the eye when deciding the lines which constitute beautiful form. Heinse also uses the term: III, 443; IX, 322.

28. Quoted from the first edition version to be found in the de luxe separate volume of WSW, entitled: *Comische Erzählungen, Combabus, Der verklagte Amor*; p.36.

like "alles lauter . . ." under the circumstances. "Um und um mit Grazien behangen" sounds oddly clumsy, surely deliberately so on Wieland's part to show the young shepherd's uncomplicated thinking process. Heinse on the other hand elevates the Hogarth term, giving it equal weight with "erhabne Gottheit" to qualify "die süßeste Wollust". Ideal Beauty then consists of three parts: "Wollust, Gottheit, Schlangen- und Wellenlinien", the sensuous and the spiritual part, and the "wavy" shimmering beautiful form. The latter holds the culminating position in the rhythmic flow of Heinse's sentence, the vitalizing component of the vision of loveliness he is trying to project.

Frequently Wieland relies on traditional *Barock* imagery<sup>29</sup> to describe details of physical beauty. Thus Idris's limbs are "unbefleckter Schnee, getuscht mit Rosenblut",<sup>30</sup> his back is - absurdly! - "seines Rückens Glanz, der Schwanen schamroth macht".<sup>31</sup> Heinse tamely follows this lead to describe Almina's "Leib, den Rosenfinger pflegen, / Wobey der Schwan den weißen Glanz verlor"(St.12).<sup>32</sup> In St.23 the "Schnee/Blut" combination recurs:

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29. E.A.Blackall notes an "interesting revival of baroque linguistic features" in *Idris*.  
*The Emergence of German as a Literary Language 1700-1775*, p.424.

30. WSW, IV, 17, p.22.      31. Ibid., p.26.

32. Heinse (IX,5) claims acquaintance with Hofmannswaldau, in whose poems 'An Laurretten' and 'Vergänglichkeit der Schönheit' there occur the terms "Schwanenbrust" and "der Schultern warmer Schnee".  
*Epochen deutscher Lyrik 1600-1700*,  
ed. C.Wagenknecht, pp.332,324.

- die Dornen hatten Wange  
Und Busen aufgeritzt, und göttlich Blut  
Floß über Schnee zur Liebe Heiligthume,  
Dieß Opfer floß euch Grazien zum Ruhme.

Wieland uses "Rosenblut" in the manner of a *Barock* emblem, signifying no more than the fresh pink colour of Idris's limbs. Heinse, however, has Almina's blood actually flowing from wounds <sup>33</sup> sustained in flight. He even likens it to sacrificial blood and claims it to be an offering to the muses, though he seems really closer here to the realm of Dionysus and the orgiastic rites associated with him. <sup>34</sup> There are two more references to blood in the *Stanzen*. The first (St.26): "Sie kämpfte noch . . . verwundet schon mit süßem Blut befleckt", contrasts particularly strongly with Wieland's "unbefleckter Schnee" and the Christian connotations of "unbefleckt". Heinse annuls any hint of defilement by the qualification "süß". <sup>35</sup>

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33. In Heinse's essay 'Frauenzimmer-Bibliothek' the reality of dripping blood clashes even more strikingly with the artificiality of "Rosenblut" and "Schnee": "Die Königin der Grazien wurde sogar einst von einem Helden im Zorn mit einem Pfeil in der schönen Brust verwundet, so daß das süße Rosenblut über seinen Schnee herabtröpfelte". (III, 384)

34. Baeumer (*Das Dionysische*, pp.10-12) relates how according to eighth century Thracian legends resistance to the strange, wild god brought insanity and being torn to pieces, "Zerrissenwerden". Although the resisting Almina's cheek and bosom have been merely "aufgeritzt", the faint suggestion of such an extreme is not entirely absent.

35. To find "real" blood one has to go back considerably: In Paul Schede's 'Lied' of 1624 Venus bleeds from scratches by thorns: "Und so zerritzt ward./ Daher die Röslein weis/ Von Bluttriefenden nerben/ Begunten sich zu ferben." Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg wallows in blood in 'Über die Geisel- und Dornkrönung meines allerliebsten Jesu' of 1672. (*Epochen deutscher Lyrik*, pp.58,279).



The last reference to blood in the *Stanzas* (St.27), "Es spritzt das Blut der tollen Liebesbiße", brings a climax of Dionysian frenzy in the blinding rush of crazed intoxication of "Wonne", that is: Ecstasy.

Gleich Blitzen flammen um die Lippen Küsse -  
Auf jede Stille folgt ein Donnerschlag -  
Es spritzt das Blut der tollen Liebesbiße -  
Die Trunkenheit von Wonne raubt den Tag/ Den Augen.

It is as if the "aufritzen" of St.23, the scratching of the skin releasing the flow of blood, is a symbolic "Auftakt", with the "beflecken" of St.26 the intermediate stage, and the "spritzen" the culmination in the spurting exuberance of overflowing ecstatic life.<sup>36</sup>

"Liebesbisse" had also featured early in *Laidion* in the chapter 'Der Neapolitaner an seine Glycerion' (III,15). Here Heinse seems to be bowing to the traditional rhetorical rule that heightened expression can be achieved by switching from prose to verse. This is counterproductive in his case, since even at this early stage he is able to speak in prose of arresting beauty, almost caressing each noun with its attributory adjective in this sensuous painting of a "Herz und Geist berausenden Scene":

Wir athmeten süßen Blumenduft; langsam ging die Nacht über unser blühendes Neapel um das ruhige Meer mit ihren hellen Gestirnen; kaum wurde die begeisternde Stille von dem leisen Lispel eines zärtlichen Zephyrs, und den kurzen Wonneschlägen Liebe träumender Nachtigallen unterbrochen; und nur mit Küssen konnten wir aussagen, daß wir die höchsten Seligkeiten des Lebens empfänden. (III,15)

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36. Compare the splashing of champagne by jubilant victors, who reinforce it by vigorous shaking of the bottle to intensify the "spritzen", which seems not unrelated in its celebratory nature to the spurting blood of St.27.

The sentence slowly unfolds, borne on no fewer than twenty-two '-en' elements which give the tone its balanced, festive elevation and rhythmic feeling:

Wir athmeten süßen Blumenduft;  
langsam ging die Nacht  
über unser blühendes Neapel  
um das ruhige Meer  
mit ihren hellen Gestirnen;  
kaum wurde die begeisternde Stille  
von dem leisen Lispel  
eines zärtlichen Zephyrs  
und den kurzen Wonnenschlägen  
Liebe träumender Nachtigallen unterbrochen;  
und nur mit Küssen  
konnten wir aussagen,  
daß wir die höchsten Seligkeiten des Lebens empfänden.<sup>37</sup>

"Bedeutend und belebend für jeden Sinn" Erhard had found Heinse's language.<sup>38</sup> This is confirmed here: all the senses are being involved,<sup>39</sup> (even, synaesthetically, by "süß" the sense of taste). "Zephyr" or "Nachtigallen" may have strayed in from Wieland's *Rokoko* or from *Empfindsamkeit*, yet this is possibly the first real "Heinsean" utterance of his oeuvre. It is neither sentimental like *Empfindsamkeit*, nor is it in the comic mode like the *Rokoko*, nor is it wild and uncouth, "derb", like *Sturm und Drang*, though sharing its openness to Nature. It is "Heinsean" because the "Moment der Entzückung"<sup>40</sup> - beyond speech,

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37. Baeumer is the first to arrange excerpts from Heinse's prose (throughout *Das Dionysische*) in free verse form, as has been done here.

38. See Appendix 1, 11).

39. This fact is also noted by Rita Terras in connection with Heinse's landscape descriptions.

*Heinse's Aesthetik*, p.64.

40. In *Idris* (p.47) rapture interferes with speech: "Die Lippen öffnen sich, und wissen vor Entzücken/ Die Größe ihres Glücks nur stammelnd auszudrücken". In *Agathon* the "Moment der Verzückerung" stops speech altogether: "der Gebrauch der Sprache hört auf". (WSW, I, 1, p.38).

which it encapsulates is brought about not just erotically by the presence of the beloved, nor is it an unworldly mystical experience, but is aesthetically rooted, i.e. in response to the Beauty of Nature - here of Night - all around. Night is not static, but moves with her bright constellations, the prepositions "über ... um ... mit" mirroring the wide arc of her progress.

Heinse knew that his strength lay in prose writing.<sup>41</sup> This is borne out by the fact that when he makes the switch from prose to verse, a process traditionally regarded as raising the level of poetic intensity, he also discards his warm natural way of expression, and with it the "Rührung" this produces in the reader, and dons instead - almost corset-like - the comic artificiality of Wieland's verse mode. The cool comic detachment of the verse is as discernible as a drop in temperature by comparison with the immediately preceding prose passage discussed above:

Des Geistes süße Blüten sind die Küsse:  
Singt Ariost, der sich darauf verstand.  
Und Küsse, wie Horazens Liebesbisse,  
Sind Blüten, wie in Indien kein Sand  
Hervor mit seinem Feuerbalsam treibet.  
Begeisternd, wie des Schöpfers Spiritus,  
Entzückend, wie die Ros', ist solch ein Kuß.  
(III,15)

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41. Heinse, however, gives a special place to his *Stanzas* in his self-assessment as a "Dichter" (which here ought to be read as meaning "versifier"): "Die Stanzas am Ende halt' ich noch immer für eins meiner besten Gedichte, die ich *Laye unter den Dichtern* gemacht habe". (IX,206)  
(My italics)

There is an unsure feeling to this poem, in which - perhaps because of the eighteenth century's admiration for a polymath, (which Wieland also is always aware of) - Heinse leans cautiously on others' authority: Ariosto is pointed out as the originator of one image of kisses, Horace quoted as the source of "Liebesbisse", (which then reappear so boldly in the *Stanzen*), (St.27). The thrilling quality of a kiss is most unconvincingly linked to the stiffly prosaic term "Schöpfers Spiritus" from *Pietismus* phraseology. The poem is in fact an example of Heinse *not* writing "heiß aus der Seele".<sup>42</sup>

If the depiction of something as sensuous as a kiss causes Heinse, as a verse-maker, to wear the *Rokoko* mask very uncomfortably, his master Wieland seems to have no such problem, spinning around what may well be "Liebesbisse" a veiling cocoon of words with the lightest possible touch:

Zu küssen? - Ja, doch, man verstehe mich,/ So züchtig,  
so unkörperlich,/ So sanft, wie junge Zephyrn küssen:/  
Mit dem Gedanken nur von einem solchen Kuß,/ Wovon  
Ovidius/ Die ungetreue Spur/ Nach mehr als einer Stunde/  
(Laut seiner eignen Hand)/ Auf seines Mädchens Munde/  
Und weißen Schultern fand. (WSW, III, 10, p. 142)

Another "original" taken over by Heinse from Wieland seems to be the term "reizendes Gewühl". Wieland highlights a scene of bathing nymphs by the exclamation: "Welch reizendes Gewühl!"<sup>43</sup> at the charming profusion of the pretty

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42. Heinse may well have inserted the poem during the reworking of *Laidion*, to give pleasure to Gleim.

43. WSW, III, 10, p. 148.

nymphs in their nakedness, observed as a pretty spectacle. Heinse's Almina in the *Stanzen* "überläßt dem reizenden Gewühl der Wellen sich" (St.11). The term is the same, but the meaning has changed completely. "Gewühl" is not a jostling crowd, but the liveliness of the water to which Almina abandons herself. The kind of water is significant as well: Wieland's nymphs in a static setting are bathing in a cave in a "stilles, schattenvolles Thal", whereas Almina bathes "an Lillo's Fall", that is: beside a waterfall, where water is at its most dynamic, ("allerhöchste Stärke" Heinse was to call the Rhine falls at Schaffhausen six years later (X,33)), so that it, the waterfall, seems to participate actively, almost erotically, in the pleasurable experience. Wieland too uses the image of the bather "abandoning" himself to the water, when Idris "überläßt der lauen Flut/ Den frischen Reitz der jugendlichen Glieder" (p.22),<sup>44</sup> yet this tepid water has a very neutral, uninvolved quality to it.

Wieland's bathing Idris is also the reason that the nymph prying on him, almost spellbound by this sight, "wünscht itzt sich hundert Augen,/ Den Reitz, der sie bethört, auf einmahl einzusaugen" (p.25). In Wieland's sentence construction the subject "Die Nymfe" is separated from the verb "wünscht" by a four-line rambling relative

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44. Page references from *Idris* will hereafter be made in the text in this form.

clause, with another relative clause embedded within it. This effectively, like a buffer, weakens the intensity of the image of a hundred greedy eyes. Heinse takes "Augen" and "einzusaugen" from Wieland, yet, far from watering down the intensity of the image, he increases it, one might say, a thousandfold; and with the spontaneous exclamatory directness which his first person narrator imparts, he brings almost anguished yearning to the phrase:

Und jetzt - o hätt' ich hunderttausend Augen,  
Um, was ich sah, so vielmals einzusaugen! (St.12)

In *Idris* (p.187) there is an example of a sensitive psychological observation of Wieland's, namely that even while being resisted, amorous excitement may continue to mount unabated:

Die Wollust, Spinnen gleich, umwindet ihren Fang  
Im Sträuben selbst mit unsichtbaren Ketten;  
Und gaukeln einmal Amoretten  
Und Scherz und Freuden dicht um unser Aug' und ziehn  
Die Schlinge lächelnd zu, dann ist's zu spät zum  
Fliehn.

In the *Stanzas* (St.24) Wieland's "invisible fetters" image re-emerges, but without an indication of its function, so that it is puzzling why Almina should be writhing in the distance "mit wonnevollem Sinn":

Nun wird es ihr gelingen,  
Mir zu entfliehn - aufflieg' ich, Götter! bin  
Schon fern von ihr - in unsichtbaren Schlingen  
Sah ich sie jetzt, mit wonnevollem Sinn,  
Sich winden, eil' auf Flügeln durch die Blüten,  
Um nun den Sturm der Lieb' aus mir zu wüthen.

It seems at first sight that here the pupil has made only perfunctory use of the material borrowed from his

master, bypassing it speedily in order to maintain the urgency of the pursuit description. However, the transitive verb "umwinden" in Wieland's image, of spider-like desire binding her prey, is changed by Heinse to the reflexive "sich winden", erotically provocative when next to "wonnevollem Sinn", which is itself equatable with "Wollust". Thus "Wollust" is no longer just ensnaring the unwary, but a snare imbuing the ensnared with writhing raptures. Heinse has managed to instil a voluptuousness into the image which makes Wieland's worldly-wise musings appear tame.

The small cherubs which as "Amoretten", in their French diminutive form, are involved by Wieland in the fettering process above, also appear "urplötzlich" in the *Stanzen* (St.19), here endearingly German as "Götterchen", and Graecised to "Götterchen der Charitinnen" (St.29). Wieland has "Götterchen" as well (p.207), but Heinse seems positively to shun the French-derived "Amoretten", possibly from a professed dislike of all things French, insofar as they symbolize mincing artificiality as seen against the superiority of unspoilt naturalness, sentiments clearly in tune with the Rousseau-inspired temper of the time. In his introductory letter to Gleim (IX,9) Heinse had presented himself at one point as a (noble?) savage incapable of pretentious, i.e. French, speech:

Verzeyhen Sie's einem Wilden, daß er nicht französische Contredänze hüpfen kan! Ich muß die Sprache meiner Natur reden, wenn ich die Sprache der Heuchler reden will, so rede ich sie nicht beßer, als ein Franzose das teutsche.

The sly mischievous cherubs, whether they "schweben" or "trippeln", together with other *Rokoko* stereotypes depicting "scherzende Natur", such as "Schaßmin", "Zephyrs" and "Philomelen", all belong to a set of clichés which, because of their tendency to over-prettify Nature and their consequent inherent element of dishonesty, must form part of that "Dämmerung von Rosen" Heinse wishes to dispel by the "hellen Sonnenlicht" of a new bold- and more honest - naturalness. Yet this places him in a dilemma, since mischievous cherubs form a perfect device for promoting the desired boldness of Kleon in the *Stanzen* without his appearing as crude as the ever-lascivious, uninhibited Itifall (p.219): "Bey Itifalln war Sehn, Entbrennen, Unternehmen/ Und Siegen immer einerley". Kleon, lying "verzückt im Pommeranzenduft", lost "in Anbetung", displaying some of the "Blödigkeit" of young shepherds in idylls, has to be goaded into action by the cherubs "mit Spott im Blick".

Moreover, Heinse appears to require the cherubs as vitality-filled ("voll blühndem Leben") symbols of bacchic intoxication:

Ich sah nach ihr, und aus den Lüften schweben  
Ein Wölkchen, und urplötzlich eine Schaar  
Von Kindern, schön, wie Polyklet gegeben.  
Ein jedes schlau im blonden krausen Haar  
Verrieth, daß sein Gewächs voll blühndem Leben  
Die Quintessenz von Bacchus Räuschen war.  
Ein Lächeln zog, gleich einer schönen Schlange,  
Sich um den Mund, und machte froh und bange. (St.19)

It may be going a little far to read dark Dionysian depths into something as ethereal - a "Wölkchen"! - as the cherubs, yet these almost Freudian dream symbols



of sensuality<sup>45</sup>bring with them here that dual impact of delight and fear, "froh und bange"; and their triumphant departure (St.33) is accompanied by Kleon's and Almina's "bängsten Ach", hinting at more than Bacchus, the bringer of joyful revelry. On the other hand, Heinse may simply be echoing Wieland (p.216) whose nymph "scheut und liebt" Amor's torch.

Beside the small cherubs who always feature *en masse*, Heinse may also be indebted to Wieland or the *Rokoko* in general for the large-scale torch-waving singular Amor. In *Idris* (p.216) this figure is "ein großer Liebesgott" in the form of a white marble statue, a kind of "Brunnenfigur", centrally positioned, elaborately encircled by water and flowering hedges, which are rather like an ornamental representation of the "moralische Schönheitslinie" screening off Love's realm. He stands, smilingly swinging his torch, all in the frozen immobility of marble, and this "zum allgemeinen Brand", i.e. to unfocussed

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45. An impression given with particular strength by Wieland's deployment of often minutely tiny cherubs, which he has nestling or hiding in erotically interesting areas of the female anatomy, as for instance the staggeringly daring hiding-place of the cherub in 'Nadine'.

WSW, III, 10, pp. 301-305.  
(Heinse reviews 'Nadine' (II, 358) in two short sentences of such blandness that one wonders if he can have read it.)

"Wölkchen" replaced "eine Wolke . . . voll Glanz", as the version Wieland received ran. It seems that Heinse here gave up a more serious lyrical approach in favour of a *Rokoko* "Verniedlichung".

universal effect. He is a stone personification of that god-like comic state of serene, smiling uninvolvedness to which Wieland pays homage.

By contrast, torch-swinging Amor in Heinse's treatment seems to participate approvingly and, by his position in the last line of the stanza, to be putting his seal on the moment when Kleon and Almina's kiss re-affirms their love:

Es ketteten sichtbar die Charitinnen -  
Des lautersten Entzückens sich bewußt,  
Das taumelte, wie Gottheit, in den Sinnen  
Von ihr und mir, herab von Herzenslust  
Gezogen - uns mit Mund an Mund zusammen;  
Und Amor schwung die Fackel voller Flammen. (St.32)

Here too there is a god-like quality ("wie Gottheit"), but now it resides in the quality of this purest ("lautersten") ecstasy which "taumelte ... herab". It comes then from above, from the sphere of the gods, drawn down to human level by "Herzenslust", human emotion in shared sensuous experience ("in den Sinnen", "von ihr und mir"). Amor here has stepped down from the Wieland/Roko-Ko ornamental pedestal and the comic remoteness this implies. He swings his blazing torch as an outward echo of the lovers' inner passion. Heinse uses enjambement to give an almost tactile thread-like texture to the "Entzücken", running through more than three lines. What could have been a wearisome encapsulative construction serves to give the effect of a cascade of rapture around the centrally placed "wie Gottheit". All is held together by the two halves of the main clause, thus providing a syntactic parallel to the image "es ketteten sichtbar ... zusammen".

Another time Heinse uses a detail Wieland had treated with flat neutrality, and fires it with a sensuous glow. In *Idris* (p.217) the nymph Rahimu has "den Einfall<sup>46</sup> sich zu waschen". The activity "sich waschen" has an unexciting ordinariness<sup>47</sup> about it; moreover, an "Einfall" is a rational or mental event: the head is in charge. The same moment concerning Heinse's Almina becomes: "Es schmachteten zu baden die Glieder sich im kühlenden Krystall"(St.8). Here the projected activity originates in the body, languishing for cooling relief - a subtle rebuff perhaps on Heinse's part for the superiority of reason upheld by *Aufklärung* and *Rokoko* alike.

From this same scene Wieland's phrase: "Schon stand sie", and Heinse's "Schon steht sie" also prove illuminating. Wieland, having delicately hinted at Rahimu's seductive attire: "mit gewebter Luft leicht flatternd angethan" (p.217) makes no reference to the act of undressing. The moment of the "Einfall, sich zu waschen" is immediately followed by: "Schon stand sie, nur von ihren langen Haaren umschattet, da". Heinse, however, fully savours the possibilities of involving the reader in the rising excitement of Almina's increasing state of undress, which takes up three stanzas (St.s 10-12).

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46. Similarly, *Idris* (p.22) "fiel ein, sich hier ein wenig abzukühlen".

47. E.A.Blackall sees such instances of "homely prosaicness" as linked with ironic caparison. (*The Emergence of German*, p.424)

These three stanzas are of interest in the evaluation of Heinse's language, because they provide early evidence of a particular quality which makes Heinse's language remarkable. Heinse possesses an outstanding ability a) to see clearly that which is before his eye (his *inner* eye in this early example), and b) to transmit that which he sees with equal clarity to the reader. Heinse's deeply aesthetic interpretation of all existence has already been identified above as perhaps the most important and always present underlying factor in his language. To that "red thread" must now be added this further very important strand. It amounts to a striking, a certainly for his day unique reporting talent, and that is what these three stanzas - as yet in embryonic form - show:

Jetzt fing sie an, die Bänder aufzuschleifen. . . .  
Jetzt sah ich sie das Kleid hinauf sich streifen, . . .  
Schon fangen an die Schenkel auszuschweifen,  
Hier wird der Fuß und dort die Schulter bloß - . . .  
Jetzt hüpf't ihr Fuß empor, . . . schon steht sie in  
der Fluth,/ und überläßt dem reizenden Gewühle  
Der Wellen sich - nun taucht sie ganz die Gluth  
Von sich hinein; . . .  
Jetzt wallet sie von sanften Wellenschlägen  
Gehoben aus der Fluth empor -  
Und jetzt . . .  
Und jetzt . . .

The string of "jetzt"s, further weighted by "und" towards the end, aided by "hier", "dort", "nun", the change to present tense, the collapse of coherent syntax in St.10 ("Und alles nun - und aufgethan der Himmel"), all contribute to the immediacy of an on-the-spot commentary.<sup>48</sup>

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48. Wieland (p.218) leaves the moment undescribed: "Der Sprache Macht ermattet hier".

in these three stanzas there is also continued emphasis on the body as controlling agent: "Muthwillig" Almina's *bosom* "sprang los"; her *thighs* begin "auszuschweifen"; her *foot*, not Almina, "hüpft empor".

When Wieland does bring in "Glieder", i.e. the body, he does so in roundabout fashion, as a genitive object of an accusative object after a dative object: Idris (p.22) "überläßt der lauen Flut den frischen Reitz der jugendlichen Glieder". Even "jugendlich" has a delaying length and thus greater remoteness compared to Heinse's use of "jung" as in "junger Busen". Heinse also uses a three-object construction: "Sie überläßt dem reizenden Gewühle der Wellen sich" (St.11), yet here the genitive and dative objects are linked, forcing full focus onto the self in the concentrated form of the one-syllable object "sich"; and reinforcing what Wieland avoided, the reflexive form "sich überlassen".<sup>49</sup> Almina "gives herself" to the waves as to a lover, in an image of abandonment to the element of water, thus showing her greater closeness to "real" Nature rather than to the "scherzende Natur" of the *Rokoko*. The fact that "sich" is not to be seen as an abstract self-reference but as an important allusion to physical presence becomes clear by its repetition in the next line, describing Almina's immersion: "Nun taucht sie ganz die Gluth von sich hinein".

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49. See also *Idris*, p.286, and WSW,III,10,p.238, for two more instances of "überlassen" going only as far as "Leib" or "Glieder", not involving the whole self.

One last borrowing from Wieland may be mentioned here. It concerns the depicting of the bather's body, "shining forth" from the water. Wieland remains within well-tried *Barock* stereotypes, and they, together with the inelegant "thut" construction, ensure comic distance:

Ihr [the limbs']unbefleckter Schnee, getuscht mit Rosenblut,/ <sup>50</sup> Scheint aus den Spiegelwellen wieder,/ So wie der Sonne Bild von glattem Marmor thut. (p.22)

Heinse strips away the *Barock* bombast and lifts Wieland's chunky noun-genitive-object construction into emphatic first place - flowingly melodious now by the linking 'n', "Sonnenbild":

Wie Sonnenbild, bey einem Sommerregen,  
Strahlt ihre Brust im klaren Quell hervor. (St.12)

With "Sommerregen" Heinse enters a different territory altogether, that of realistic, living Nature. The alliteration 'So-' creates a subtle dual image in relation to "ihre Brust". When Ardinghello praises Fiordimona's beauty this recurs, more directly:

Die Brüste drängen sich heiß und üppig hervor,  
wie aufgehende Frühlingssonnen. (IV,213); (RA,222) <sup>51</sup>

Ardinghello celebrates the beauty of the female body frankly and without debasement. As J.B.Erhard noted in 1788: "Sinnlichkeit ist bei ihm herrschend, aber sie erniedrigt ihn nicht, sondern er veredelt sie". (RA,569)

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50. *Grimms Wörterbuch* (hereafter: *DW*) quotes two *Barock* sources for "Rosenblut": 1) Weckherlin: "die rosen und der göttin wangen/ schamroth ab jrem rosen-blut/ zumahl mit newem pracht und gut"; 2) Lohenstein: "hat dieses rosenblut/ hat diese marmel-haut die kräffte, flamm und gut/ zu pflanzen in die brust?"

51. *RA* refers to the Reclam critical edition of *Ardinghello*, ed. M.L.Baeumer. All references to *Ardinghello* will be in the form of the Schüddekopf edition followed by the Reclam edition.

### 3. WIELAND'S "LÜCKEN". PART 1

If Heinse, as has been shown, in spite of his stated aim of a new literary departure, continues to "borrow" from Wieland - cannot in fact help doing so, since he still has to draw on a pool of literary tradition common to them both - does this "newness" then exhaust itself in the vitalisation, energization and increased sensualization of the potentials of each element taken over in this way? To assume this would mean ignoring a real advance which occurs during Heinse's undertaking.

The main irritant, and thus for Heinse the factor instigating progress, is a peculiarity of Wieland's narrative technique. When Heinse had declared himself unable to suffer any longer the "Lücken nach dem Beyspiel des Originalgenies Ariosto" (IX,180), the implied criticism was clearly directed at Wieland. It is therefore likely to be rewarding for this study to submit this alleged defect of Wieland's to closer scrutiny, offset by Heinse's reaction to it. For this purpose the terms "Lücken" or "Lücke" will be applied to denote a number of comic devices which Wieland handles with consummate artistry in order to retain the comic mode and to prevent "Rührung" (in Heinse's sense of the word); and also in order to remain within the demarcation of the "moralische Schönheitslinie". Wieland's deliberately stifled half dozen verses, the suddenly conjured-up "Rosengebüsche", even the untypical awkwardness of the "thut" construction above, have already permitted a glimpse of his technique.

A "Lücke" may literally take the form of an omission, i.e. an allegedly missing piece of the manuscript, as in Ariosto's example, but may also, more loosely, be an instance of "Raisonnement" intervening as a kind of distancing effect just when the sensuous involvement of the reader or audience is developing.

A telling example of the Ariosto-inspired "Lücke" occurs in *Idris*, (p.220). Itifall, for whom "Sehn, Entbrennen, Unternehmen, und Siegen" on encountering a member of the opposite sex have just been described as coinciding, ("immer einerley"), comes upon a bathing nymph and quickly passes the "seeing" and "igniting" stages. At this point Wieland simply breaks off the narrative and addresses his audience with disarming charm: "Hier, lieben Leute, zeigt sich eine kleine Lücke im Manuskript". The disappointed outcry: "Warum denn gerade hier?" is mollifyingly countered by his pointing to the resources of imagination: "Was begegnet sey, läßt leichtlich sich ermessen"; with a hint of the possible findings: "was rührendes vielleicht". The whole teasing exercise is a clear demonstration by Wieland of how to suppress "Rührung", how to nip it in the bud by firmly adhering to the comic mode.<sup>52</sup>

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52. This same technique is also applied by Wieland in 'Aspasia', (WSW, III, 9, p.124), where the heroine, having foolishly agreed to experiments of "Entkörperung" at her friend's suggestion, suddenly finds herself in the middle of an amorous experience in his arms. At once Wieland arranges for the familiar screen: "Zum Glück kommt ihr - und mir/ Ein Rosenbusch zu Hülff". Then, for good measure, he resorts to Ariosto's "Lücke": "Wie weit sie übrigens in dieser Sommernacht/ Es im Entkörp'rungs- werk gebracht,/ Läßt eine Lücke uns im Manuskript verborgen."



It now becomes clearer how different Heinse's approach is, though it is still possible to trace a faint link with Wieland: the four verbal nouns above, describing the simultaneity ("einerley") of Itifall's reaction to the chance of an amorous encounter are perhaps echoed in Kleon's reaction to Almina's searingly watchful gaze before she enters the water (St.9). The link lies in the equal simultaneity of "Blitz und Schlag und Flammen auf einmal" which affect Kleon:

Mir fuhr ein Pfeil ins Herz, als ich es sah.  
Es war ein Blick, wie Blitz und Schlag und Flammen  
Auf einmal sind, und Alles stürzt zusammen.

Heinse's first person narrator invites the reader's identification with him, and here, through the prominently positioned "Mir ..." brings close the revealed inner state of Kleon, as Heinse intends. Weighty hammer-blow nouns are used: "Blitz", "Schlag", <sup>53</sup> the monosyllables balanced by the two syllables of "Flammen" and the polysyndeton. Itifall's trivially low, merely "Begierde"-ruled world is left behind in the grandeur of a realm where Almina's look pierces Kleon's being <sup>54</sup> in all-shattering devastation, likened by Heinse to forces of nature experienced at closest proximity. <sup>55</sup> Their impact goes straight to that central point which Wieland is always at such pains to keep unaffected, by comic distance: "in's Herz".

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53. See M.Dick (p.144) for a convincing discussion of Heinse's use of elemental images to demonstrate "die Macht der Empfindung".

54. See also *Laidion* (III,149): "Wie ein Pfeil fuhr mir die Angst in's Herz".

55. The image may have a *Barock* origin. Lohenstein in 'Cleopatra' has: "Der Augen schwartze Nacht läßt tausend Blitze fallen,/ Die kein beherzter Geist nicht ohne Brand empfindt". (Quoted from Blackall, p.293).

In this way Heinse throws his goal of "Rührung" into graphic relief, resorting to the most "shaking" imagery of raw elements unleashed, which aids the serious interpretation of the event Heinse desires from his reader. More than a decade later, in *Ardinghello* (IV,230;RA,221) the same image of a terrible thunderstorm recurs to describe Love's consuming force:

Und ich fühl es, ach ich fühl es, daß sie mich so ganz unaussprechlich liebt! Was das für eine Empfindung ist, und wie es mein Wesen in vollen Schlägen durchkreuzt, kann Niemand fassen, als wer selbst in Feuer und Flammen unter einem solchen schrecklichen Gewitter gestanden hat.

#### 4. THUNDER AND LIGHTNING IN HEINSE'S WRITING

The connotations which thunder and lightning have for Heinse illustrate particularly well how he stands out in boldness of vision from Wieland as well as from other writers, and therefore justify a digression from the focus on Wieland's "Lücken" (which will be resumed).

Heinse may describe a thunderstorm as "schrecklich" or "fürchterlich", but he hardly ever sees it as "causing fear and trembling" as the more meek-spirited might, but rather in the sense of bringing about a shaking, momentous, exultant feeling of fellowship with Nature when it thus reveals itself - and this is important - at the highest point of its strength, "in der Vollkommenheit seiner Kraft"(IV,196;RA,187). A section from a poem in the *Halberstädter "Büchse"* of 1774 states:

Die Gespenster verspott' ich - schon als Knabe,  
Wenn Gewitter am Himmel auf der Werra  
Eichenwälder sich tösend lagerten, und  
Meine sanften Gespielen zitternd weinten,  
Daß die Blitze die tausendjäh'ge Nacht er-  
hellten, sah ich sie an, als wären's Brüder,  
Hört' ich Jubelgetön in ihren Donnern. (I,81)

Heinse has a rare gift<sup>56</sup> of unerringly finding the one expression which brings to life the splendid fearlessness of his imagination in these early writings. As far as ascertainable,<sup>57</sup> Heinse is the only writer of his day to hear thunder as an acclamation of joy, and to describe this onomatopoeically in the choriambus "Jubelgetön". It is enlightening to compare the boldness of Heinse's imagery, of lightnings beheld with unaverted gaze, ("sah ich sie an"), as *brothers*, with for instance Klopstock's persona, in his ode 'Die Frühlingsfeyer'<sup>58</sup> who is hastening

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56. See Herbert Koch's comment in Appendix I.

57. Some dictionaries (Adelung(1807); Duden(1977)) do not list "Jubelgetön"; Heinsius(1819) does, as: "Ertönen des Jubelgeschreis". DW has "das Jubelgetön der Achaier" (Ilias 2,334), meaning presumably the Bodmer(1778) or Voss(1793) translations, both later than Heinse's poem. In both instances "Jubelgetön" issues from a vocal source, whereas there is surely also an orchestral element in the multisonous exultation Heinse hears.

Klopstock's odes move close to "Jubelgetön" at times, e.g. in 'Für den König'(1753): "geuß Silbertöne, laute Jubel herab"; or "Jubelchöre" in 'Frühlingsfeyer'(1759); or: "Ihr [Nature's] Getön schallet vom Himmel herab, laut preisend", in 'Die Gestirne'(1764). (Oden, Hamburg 1771, pp.8,32,59)

58. Der Wald neigt sich, der Strom fliehet, und ich  
Falle nicht auf mein Angesicht?  
Herr! Herr! Gott! barmherzig und gnädig!  
Du Naher! .... erbarme dich meiner!

(Oden, p.36)

to prostrate himself, pleading for mercy, as the approaching storm proclaims the presence of Jehovah: "Herr", "Gott", and "Vater". In Goethe's poem 'Grenzen der Menschheit' <sup>59</sup> the persona submissively kisses the hem of the robe of the passing father-figure, the thunderstorm, in willing acknowledgment of the limitations of the human condition, the very thing Heinse's persona is able to forget in the feeling of brotherly kinship with the lightning flashes. L.F.G.Goeckingk, an almost exact contemporary of Heinse's and a fellow Thuringian, does resort to a slightly bolder image in his poem 'Erkannte Wohltat'.<sup>60</sup> His poem is a laudation of poverty and its blessings: "die Blitze greif ich am Saum mit meiner Hand", to be transported across the Hartz mountains towards a realisation of the smallness of earthly concerns in the greater scheme of things. The bolder image of "grasping" is much modified though by its restriction to that same symbol of subservience Goethe also employs: the hem of the garment.

Of course the opening of Goethe's poem 'Prometheus',<sup>61</sup> which has its origin, like Heinse's poem, in the *Geniezeit*, would seem to be an obvious rival in boldness of the use of lightning imagery. Prometheus, scoffing contemptuously at Zeus's impotent wilfulness - likened to the futile activity of a thistle-decapitating boy - in effect assumes

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59. *Goethes Werke, 'Hamburger Ausgabe'*, ed.E.Trunz, (hereafter: HA), I, p.146.

60. *Das große deutsche Gedichtbuch*, ed. Karl Otto Conrady, p.212.

61. HA, p.44.

a stance of defiance above Zeus. However, Zeus, the emitting source of the lightning imagery, is himself reduced in stature by the reference to Time and Fate, the inexorable rulers, "meine Herren und deine". Also, Prometheus's overweening concentration on himself unbalances the force of the lightning imagery to the level of background vagueness: "Wolkendunst" is hardly a thundercloud, "übe ... an Eichen dich" - lightning?, "und Bergeshöhen" - reverberating thunder?

Bedecke deinen Himmel, Zeus,/ Mit Wolkendunst!/ Und  
übe, dem Knaben gleich,/ Der Diesteln köpft,/ An  
Eichen dich und Bergeshöhn!

The theme of the free self-reliance of being ("Hast du's nicht alles selbst vollendet,/ Heilig glühend Herz?"), linked with the theme<sup>62</sup> of the ultimate indestructibility of both matter and of Man's creative endeavour ("Mußt mir meine Erde/ Doch lassen stehn,/ Und meine Hütte,/ Die du nicht gebaut") is echoed by Heinse in a notebook entry of 1786 which also ends apparently with an address to Zeus:

Alles Wesen ist frey, so bald es allein aus sich selbst handelt. Substanz kann von keinem Gott vernichtet werden. . . . Zertrümmre mich Centillionenmal mit Blitzen und Donnerkeilen! ich stehe immer jung wieder auf. (VIII,2,201)<sup>63</sup>

Yet, what E.Trunz in his commentary on 'Prometheus' calls the "mystische Übersteigerung des Genies" with its "Grund-

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62. R.H.Stephenson points out that the theme of the indestructibility of matter has been a metaphysical commonplace at least since the Pre-Socratic philosophers, and that it reappears throughout the ages, as also in the opening of Goethe's poem 'Vermächtnis', or in A.F.Büsching's formulation of 1785: "Was ist kann nicht vernichtet werden". *Goethe's Wisdom Literature*, p.128.

63. Cf. also IV,328; RA,311-312.

klängen von Kraft, Selbstgefühl und Trotz", <sup>64</sup> and what W.Rasch likewise calls "jenes trotzige Aufbegehren eines übersteigerten Selbstgefühls", <sup>65</sup> in Heinse's case quite lacks that element of defiance, "Trotz", <sup>66</sup> and also the resentful "what-have-you-ever-done-for-me?" tone. Nor is there the "Übersteigerung" of Prometheus's somehow adolescent strutting self-importance gained by alleging Zeus's limits. On the contrary, the destructive forces of Nature are invited - in the form of Zeus's attributes - to do their work "Centillionenmal", and yet this is *not* "Übersteigerung". It is rather a glorious affirmation of the Self revelling in the strength it recognises in itself. The unimaginable magnitude of the number <sup>67</sup> is necessary as it corresponds perfectly to the equally unimaginable vastness of Time pertaining to the concept of the eternal rejuvenation of matter, which, as if the import of the first three sententious statements suddenly dawns on the speaker, is uttered as a great apostrophic shout of triumph. *Not* triumph over Nature, but triumph at the realisation of being eternally, indestructibly *part* of it. From a sense of utter certainty the "ich" is able to state its immortality with the simplicity of a child: "Ich stehe immer jung wieder auf."

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64. HA, I, p.484.

65. Wolfdietrich Rasch, 'Ganymed. Über das mythische Symbol in der Goethezeit'. HA, I, p.486.

66. A stance confirmed by an aphorism (from the time 1774-1780): "Trotz ist Schwachen und Kindern eigen". (VIII, 1, 167)

67. A centillion is  $10^{600}$ , or: it has six hundred noughts, a truly cosmological measure!

In *Ardinghello* (IV,328; RA,311-312) Heinse modifies the huge number: "Zertrümmre mich tausendmal mit Deinen Wetterstrahlen!", possibly because "Centillionenfach" had been applied by him not long before (IV,318; RA,303), namely, when Demetri in his cosmogony depicts the immense variety of cosmic matter, "die himmelunendliche Menge solcher Substanzen" eternally striving for fullest enjoyment of their existence. This in the deepest sense erotic urge between substances ("Und sie werden nicht satt werden, sich um einander zu bewegen, und sich zu berühren"), lets Demetri sense the solution to the riddle of the constant exultant global and cosmic tumult. Thus a lightning flash igniting with its elemental power a gun powder store demonstrates the eternal "Streben nach Genuß" and is "happier" than any Hercules with all his dalliances. Here is a supreme example of Heinse's use of lightning imagery in perhaps the most memorable articulation of his ecstatic cosmic vision ("in Flammen sich wälzen", "rasen", "toben", being the key verbs):

Denken wir uns nun das Weltall als himmelunendliche Menge solcher Substanzen mit ewigem Streben nach neuem Genuß, an Stoff und Feinheit und Form Centillionenfach verschieden und ähnlich und gleich; und daraus nothwendiger Weise von selbst die beste Ordnung zur allervollkommensten und mannigfaltigsten Berührung; und wir werden, glaub' ich, uns der Erklärung des Räthsels nähern, und einigermaßen obenhin begreifen lernen, warum die Gestirne in Flammen sich wälzen, die Winde rasen, die Meere toben, die Erden fest halten, und daß der Strahl in einen Pulverthurm glücklicher seyn kann, als Herkules bey allen seinen Liebeshändeln.

Perhaps linked to the "Wetterstrahlen" above which evoked the conviction of indestructable being is their evocation of a feeling of eternal freedom, as in this note from the Italian journey:

Ein Gefühl von ewiger Freiheit ergreift, erschüttert, durchflammt den Menschen, wenn man in Wetterstrahlen steht, und der Donnerwagen über das Land rollt, daß die Felsen beben. (VIII,2,30)

The positioning of the speaker in the heart of the storm, shaken, but fearless, free, makes this passage unmistakably "Heinsean".

For boldness of lightning imagery one poet approaches that of Heinse, Friedrich Hölderlin, who greatly admired him.<sup>68</sup> Through their lightning imagery both writers express their view of poets as beings specially endowed and set apart from the masses; and, in Hölderlin's formulation, charged ("uns gebührt es") to act as a kind of mediator between the divine and ordinary mortals.<sup>69</sup> Both Heinse and Hölderlin see poets as ranking with exceptional persons, what a later age calls "Ausnahme-Menschen", and what Heinse calls "Geniees" or "Genieen". However, Hölderlin's poet stands devoutly, "mit entblößtem Haupte", under the thunderstorm, the inspiring source, whereas Heinse's speaker feels the kinship of a brother with it, i.e. he feels as an equal, on the same level. Both men are aware of their "other-ness", Hölderlin in relation to "das Volk",

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68. For a discussion of Heinse and Hölderlin see 'Eines zu seyn mit Allem. Heinse und Hölderlin' in M.L.Baeumer, *Heinse-Studien*, pp.49-91; also: Erich Hock, *Dort drüben in Westfalen ... Hölderlins Reise nach Bad Driburg mit Wilhelm Heinse und Diotima*.

69. In his 'Hymne': 'Wie wenn am Feyertage ...' Hölderlin describes the role of poets: "Doch uns gebührt es, unter Gottes Gewittern/ Ihr Dichter! mit entblößtem Haupte zu stehen/ Des Vaters Strahl, ihn selbst mit eigener Hand/ Zu fassen und dem Volk ins Lied/ Gehüllt die himmlische Gabe zu reichen. The thunderstorm is a Zeus-like figure whose lightning, "himmlisches Feuer", mortals, like Semele, cannot bear. It is the poets' task to transmute it into form "ins



Heinse to "meine sanften Gespielen".<sup>70</sup> One may conjecture that neither of them would identify readily with Goethe's universalization "irgend ein Mensch" in 'Grenzen der Menschheit'. The lightning imagery in Hölderlin's poem may well have been directly influenced by Heinse<sup>71</sup> who also - through his mouthpiece Demetri<sup>72</sup> - presents poets as form-creators, and cites as evidence the depiction of the figure of Zeus:

Das Element . . . , das sich am freysten und ungebundensten durch das Unermeßlichste breitet, . . . , ist die Luft. Wir Trismegisten und Orpheusse gaben ihm den Namen Zeus; und stellten diesen den Völkern in Wolken auf einem Donnerwagen mit dem flammichten zackichten Keil voll furchtbarer Majestät . . . vor; weil sie nicht zu dem Unsichtbaren gelangen, und Gestalt für den Sinn haben müssen. (IV,283; RA,271) (My underlining)

"Wir Trismegisten und Orpheusse" - the speaker includes himself among the most illustrious creative minds, the givers of "Gestalt für Sinn" for the benefit of those feeble ones for whom metaphysics is ungraspable. The distinction between "wir" and "sie" permanently divides the

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Lied gehüllt") which "das Volk" can stand.  
*Sämtliche Werke*, ed. F. Beißner and A. Beck, II, p. 117

70. In Goethe's poem 'Zueignung' (HA, I, 149) the persona in the dialogue with Truth also speaks of the poet's apartness from earlier "Gespielen". Fortunate though he feels to possess his special insight, it forces him into solitude: "ich muß mein Glück nur mit mir selbst genießen". Through Truth's gift of "der Dichtung Schleier" he is reunited with the "Gespielen": "So kommt denn Freunde . . . Wir gehen vereint". Such realisation of the ideal of "Humanität", such a bridging step is *not* taken by Heinse, who revels in the apartness through genius.

71. Hölderlin adapted a quotation from *Ardinghello* as a prefix to his 'Hymne an die Göttin der Harmonie': "Urania, die glänzende Jungfrau, hält mit ihrem Zaubergürtel das Weltall in tobendem Entzücken zusammen. Ardinghello". The original is to be found in the paragraph which

"Geniees" from the non- "Geniees". This, however, ought *not* to be seen as "Selbstgefühl, das sich *abgesondert von der Umwelt* empfindet" (my italics), a trait W.Montenbruck claims to detect on the basis of Heinse's reaction to a "Naturerlebnis", namely, a thunderstorm.<sup>73</sup> One might be led to interpret Montenbruck's remark as Heinse's view of himself as an "Einzelgänger". This would be wrong: Heinse saw himself - though certainly in an elitist way - as belonging to a group of gifted kindred spirits:

Einige von den Köpfen, welche die hierinnen sparsame Natur so selten zubereitet, und denen sie eine Portion von Göttlichkeit mit auf die Welt giebt. (I,149)

He rousingly addresses them, in 1770, using the image of lightning, "himmlisches Feuer", to bring out their alleged exclusive status:

Junge Geniees! . . . Ihr Edeln! die ihr in eurem Hirn etwas von diesem himmlischen Feuer brennen fühlet, das den Oßian, Shakspear, Petrarch; Raphael, Corregio und Titian, Leo, Pergolese, Durante und Jomelli über andere Menschen empor hob und sie zu Lieblingen und Stolze ihrer Nation machte, empor mit den Seelenflügeln! Zerreißet die Sklavenfesseln gewöhnlicher Menschenkinder! Und fürchtet euch nicht mit Sonnenlichte die dunkeln Augen eurer Nation zu blenden! (I,157)

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immediately precedes the passage quoted above (IV,283;RA.271), so Hölderlin must have known it. (Hölderlin, op.cit., p.130)

72. Demetri, as well as Ardinghello, projects Heinse's own stance, as comparison with the many excerpts from his notebooks certify, which have been transposed to become utterances of the two characters. M.L.Baeumer's RA 'Variantenverzeichnis' has made such comparison very much less time-consuming.

73. Montenbruck, p.47. On p.11 Montenbruck does speak of Heinse seeing himself early on as "allen übrigen Genieen verbunden . . . eingereiht in eine große Gemeinschaft".

In the *Stanzas* this concept of the genius for whom gracious Nature has procured his rare outstanding quality blends with that of Prometheus, of fire stolen from the gods. Again there is no evidence of "Trotz", just a proud rejoicing at thus being on a par with them:

O Jüngling, Du, dem aus dem Himmel Feuer  
Die gnädige Natur zum Geiste stahl,  
Ergreife früh der Arioste Leyer,  
Und laß das Gold den Seelen, die schon schaal  
Geboren sind. Du fesselst Ungeheuer  
Und Engel dann, und linderst Deine Quaal,  
Und zechest bey der Erde Donnerwettern  
Stolz im Olymp den Nektar mit den Göttern. (St.43)

No claim is intended here that the "heavenly fire" image denoting genius *originated* with Heinse. It was indeed a commonplace.<sup>74</sup> What makes its use by Heinse remarkable is the move away from the empty rhetorical cliché by relating it to the actual phenomenon of thunder and lightning. If the presence of "himmlisches Feuer" identifies for Heinse one of the exceptional beings of this world, elevated above the mediocrity of "gewöhnliche Menschenkinder", it follows that a "Genie" *enjoys* a thunderstorm, responding to it as to the manifestation of the same special quality he feels within himself - hence the "brother"-image discussed above. "Andere Menschenkinder", i.e. those lacking this quality (the "sanften Gespielen" above) may well find a thunderstorm frightening. Seen in this light Heinse's account of a thunderstorm in a letter to Gleim of 12 September 1772 is revealing. He writes after his arrival

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74. Thus F. Matthisson for instance speaks of "der Feuerkopf Heinse". (ZZ, p.17)

in Halberstadt, having covered fifty miles on foot in two days "gleich dem geflügelten Merkur":<sup>75</sup>

Ich hatte das Vergnügen, in einem Harzwalde auf einem hohen Harzberge, zwey fürchterliche Gewitter, für andere Menschenkinder, ausserordentlich vortrefflich donnern zu hören. (IX,87)

Such is Heinse's enjoyment of the storm, and, by implication, such is his self-attributed "Portion von Göttlichkeit", i.e. "Genie", that he is able to assess the thunder like a connoisseur, as if on a scale of excellence, and award it (the top?) mark: "ausserordentlich vortrefflich".

A similar postulation of the thunderstorm as an enjoyable and sublime spectacle occurs in Laidion's description of the only place in Elysium where clouds are to be found. Again exceptional beings, (in this case the bliss-filled dwellers in Elysium), immune to the storm's fear-inspiring propensities, are involved:

In diese Gegend gehen wir, um Gewitter zu betrachten, und donnern zu hören. *Für uns da oben ist dieses ein erhabnes Vergnügen. Ohne Furcht können wir die Donner um uns zischen sehen, und hören, da unsere Leiber ihnen heilig, und unzugänglich sind.* (III,174;my italics)

It is intriguing here how the author (Heinse, writing in the real world below, hence "*da oben*") and the narrator (Laidion, in Elysium above, whose perspective demands "*hier oben*") merge in a kind of Freudian slip, namely Heinse's admission that he counts himself among those who are above ordinary mortals.

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75. M.Dick sees this storm description as a first tentative step towards the later great nature descriptions. "Andere Menschenkinder" Dick sees as including for the "Naturkind" Heinse the "Verehrer der Grazien" (i.e. Gleim and his circle). They stand for "Anmut und reizende Schönheit" in contrast to "die gesuchte ursprüngliche Natur Heinses". *Der junge Heinse*, p.123.

Among such ordinary, mediocre beings Heinse includes for example those art critics whose lack of insight makes them fail to comprehend the divine spark of genius, "den Strahl ... die Pfade des Blitzes", even when they see it, and makes them equate it with the merely humdrum, "Küchenfeuer":

Die Kunstrichter, gewöhnlichen Seelen, die ordentlichen Menschen sehen den Strahl nicht, nicht die Pfade des Blitzes, nur Feuer, und nicht mehr an diesem himmlischen Feuer, als was sie am Küchenfeuer sehen. (VIII,1,5)

Similarly handicapped, Heinse thinks, are those whose restrictive education, not "in der Natur voll Leben, Kraft und Geist"(III,379), but "im Kefich", far from "Wald und Busch und Thal und Au und Quell' und Bach und Nachtigall"<sup>76</sup> has made such people unable to differentiate between truth and pretence, between "wahre Glückseligkeit" and "Puppenglückseligkeit", or between the genuine turmoil of Nature where a "Genie" is in his element: "in Donnerschlägen durch elektrisches Feuer zerrißne . . . Luft"(III,379), and an artificial commotion.

A list of some of those from whom Heinse disassociates himself while clarifying the "Genie" concept makes for amusing reading, but also bears striking testimony to the extent of dissatisfaction it was possible to feel regarding one's fellow men in Heinse's day and age:

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76. In this polysyndeton (polysyndetons are one of the characteristics of Heinse's language) the lightly skipping monosyllables seem to be echoing the enticing freshness of the countryside. The three final syllables of "Nachtigall" cleverly save the reader from feeling out of breath by the long run.

Schwätzer, aber keine Genieen (I,331)  
Moralisten (I,210)  
kleinstädtische, öde, finstere, mürrische Köpfe (I,197)  
Pöbel; Thiere; menschliche Maschinen (I,249)  
Zaunkönigseelen (I,197)  
Schlafmützen (I,301); schachmatte Stubensitzer (IV,16;RA,17)  
Einfaltspinsel; Mittelschlag (VIII,2,149)  
der große dumme Haufen (VIII,3,268)  
[those with] Barbarey, Verfinsterung in den Köpfen, Aberglauben  
gewöhnliche Seelen (VIII,1,5) (I,150)  
die Klasse von Menschen, welche im Schweiß ihres Angesichts  
die Gedanken Andrer auswendig lernen (I,329)  
gelehrte Dummköpfe (I,158)  
Büchleinschreiber über die Auferziehung (I,319)  
hassenswerte Schultyrannen; Schurken von dickbäckichten  
Kandidaten (theological instructors) (I,304)  
schwarze Pfaffen (I,6)  
Verzeihungshasser (*Stanzen*, St.37; III,208)  
Troßbuben (X,308)  
elende Scribenten (critics) (I,145)  
Tröpfe von Kunstrichtern (VIII,1,4)  
Theorienschreiber (I,236)  
die Elenden; die Schmierer (IV,9;RA,10)  
Stümper (IV,15;RA,16); die armseeligen Schelme (IV,11;RA,12)  
Schwätzer und Hofschranzen (VIII,1,225)  
kalte Staatsperücke (IV,53;RA,51)  
gezierte Puppen, Geschöpfe der Etikette, des schönen  
Decorums (VIII,1,15)  
die elenden Papageyen unter den Menschen (III,16)  
das lärmende Händeklatschen eines unwissenden Parterre (I,158)  
die unnützen Mitglieder der Gesellschaft (VIII,1,4)  
das Maulwurfsgeschlecht (IV,167;RA,159)  
Pigmäenseelen (VIII,1,4)  
Zwergenkel der heroischen Urväter (IV,166;RA,i59)  
Knorpel von verdorrten Eichen (VIII,1,4)  
[Those with] Eselsdemuth; Allgehorsam; Fraubasengutartigkeit  
(IV,59;RA,56)

In his essay 'Frauenzimmer-Bibliothek' Heinse envisages the in his view perfect education for an imaginary daughter. The thunderstorm is cast in pantheistic fashion as the revelation of the omnipotent splendour of the ruler of Nature. This follows a passage of particular interest in a study of Heinse's style. W.Montenbruck (p.58) and A.Langen<sup>77</sup> both find the noun to be his prominent wordform. Without disputing their findings, one should note what this passage demonstrates, namely, Heinse's outstanding ability to enhance the hue of nouns in almost painterly fashion; in this case by five present participle attributary adjectives (four of them with intensifying prefixes: 'er-, auf-, empor, vorbei-'), and by the startling originality of "frische Gluth". All of them serve to echo the awakening, growing (self)perception of the young girl:

Im Frühlinge seh' ich auf frohen Hügeln<sup>78</sup> mit ihr den Morgenstern aufgehn, und die reinen Töne einer erwachenden Nachtigall sollen die Melodien hervorlocken, die in ihrer Seele schlummern; die aufschwebende Morgenröthe das Gefühl des Himmels in ihr erwecken; und die frische Gluth der empor steigenden Sonne den Sinn der Gottheit in ihrem Herzen entzücken. Dann sollen Veilchen und Mayblumen, der blüthenvolle Hayn, oder Rosen ihr ein Bild weiblicher Schönheit werden; der vorübereilende Bach und ein singendes Landmädchen ein Bild der glücklichen Thätigkeit.

Im Gewitter erkennt sie sichtbarlich die Herrlichkeit des Geistes, des Beherrschers der Natur in allmächtigen Blitzen und Donnerschlägen. (III, 377)

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77. 'Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart' in *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß*, ed.W.Stammeler, I, column 1134.

78. "Frohe Hügel" make a charming companion piece to the "lustigen Wald" (IX, 359) from the description of Rubens's painting of a rainbow, to be discussed in Chapter II.

So far in this examination of lightning and thunder in Heinse's writing it has been shown that they help to give shape to his concept of the other-ness of poets and "Geniees"; that as "divine fire" lightning in fact identifies the genius; that the concept is an aid in the articulation of the theme of indestructibility; and that the thunderstorm may even play a part in education, initiating a young person's awareness of the divine.

But Heinse also follows the ancient rhetorical tradition which makes use of such violent natural phenomena for the intensified presentation of passionate feelings. He describes this technique of the poets of the ancients as follows:

Das Wesen ihrer Gedichte war Darstellung von Leidenschaft . . . , mit allem dem verstärkt, was in der Natur Leben und Bewegung hat, und groß und mächtig ist, . . . oder heftigen Empfindungen gleicht; als Sturm im Meer, Orkan in der Luft, Wetter am Himmel; angeschwollener von Felsen herab sich stürzender Strom, Erderschütterung, Feuer speyender Berg, brennender Wald. <sup>79</sup>(III,382)

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79. Perhaps the greatest contrast of view as to what is "groß und mächtig" in Nature to that held by Heinse is to be found in Adalbert Stifter's preface to *Bunte Steine*: "Weil wir aber schon einmal von dem Großen und Kleinen reden, so will ich meine Ansichten darlegen, die wahrscheinlich von denen vieler anderer Menschen abweichen. Das Wehen der Luft, das Rieseln des Wassers, das Wachsen der Getreide, das Wogen des Meeres, das Grünen der Erde, das Glänzen des Himmels, das Schimmern der Gestirne halte ich für groß; das prächtig einherziehende Gewitter, den Blitz, welcher Häuser spaltet, den Sturm, der die Brandung treibt, den feuerspeienden Berg, das Erdbeben, welches Länder verschüttet, halte ich nicht für größer als obige Erscheinungen, ja, ich halte sie für kleiner, weil sie nur Wirkungen viel höherer Gesetze sind".

*Bunte Steine. Späte Erzählungen*, ed. Max Stefl, p.6.



Heinse wholeheartedly endorses ancient rhetorical theory in this respect. If deepest emotion is to be transmitted and responsively evoked by words, then imagery drawn from the thunderstorm, whose violence is experienced by everyone, offers itself as a most effective tool for the purpose. Strong emotion must, in Heinse's neologism, "durchwetterleuchten" (III,378) the soul subjected to such treatment, and produce what amounts to a variation of Aristotle's Catharsis effect: not "Läuterung" in the sense of purgation through the arousal of fear and pity induced by tragedy, but the "Glückseeligkeit" which constitutes the release of the flow of Feeling from the hidden wells of the heart:

In Empfindung besteht die Glückseeligkeit unsers Lebens; und deren Quellen liegen im Herzen verborgen. Das muß mit Furcht und Schrecken, mit heftigen Gefühlen durchrissen werden, wenn die Adern darinn entstehn, sich eröffnen sollen, woraus die Empfindungen fliessen. (III,378)

Applying this theory Heinse conjures up the vision of a severe nocturnal storm to depict the impact of music. By the anaphora "und wenn ... nicht" he builds up to a crescendo, via "fünfmal geläuterte Tropfen der Entzückung", (Heinse's kind of "Läuterung"!) via the oxymoron "bittere Wonne" to the final climax with the aid of the "Ungewitter" image, followed by the collapse into the commonsensical conclusion. In this early piece of writing, from 1770, Heinse shows himself as a "Sprachmeister" in the making, on a level with the musical mastery of a Jomelli:

Hören Sie *Miß Sara Sampson* oder *Romeo und Julia* aufführen, und nach dem fünften Act hören Sie die zärtlichste Melodie von einem Jomelli oder einem andern Meister, der in der Sprache der Töne ein Sprachmeister ist . . . , und wenn Ihnen nicht Seele

und Herz aus dem Leibe schmelzen wollen, und wenn nicht fünfmal geläuterte Tropfen der Entzückung durch Ihre Nerven zittern, und wenn diese bittere Wonne, so Sie bey dem Tode Juliens gefühlt haben, Ihnen nicht - wie ein schweres Gewitter die Nacht mit Blitzen schlägt - mit iedem starken Ton zehnmal heftiger wieder ins Herz zurückgeschlagen wird, so - haben Sie entweder keine Ohren, oder - ich habe kein menschliches Gefühl. (I,176)

There is a curious mixture of styles here, with elements of *Empfindsamkeit* early on: "zärtlichste Melodie", "Tropfen der Entzückung", "zittern", "Seele und Herz ... schmelzen". Yet the realistic "aus dem Leibe" breaks the sentimental spell and brings a life-endangering intensity, another glimpse of the Dionysian dimension with its inherent strand of destructiveness. There is "ekstatische Übersteigerung" here in the sense of M.L.Baeumer's definition of the "Wesen des Dionysischen": "die rauschhaft empfundene Selbststeigerung und Entgrenzung bis zur Verzückung, zum Wahn oder bis zur Vernichtung".<sup>80</sup> A momentary barrier of comic exaggeration arises - in a way Wieland might have approved of - by the finickiness of "fünfmal geläuterte Tropfen" in front of the rapture, ("Entzückung"), not in order to ward it off, as would have been Wieland's purpose, but just to maintain the lightness of the tone a little longer, since the speaker is meant to be a lady! However, "durch Ihre Nerven" touches and disturbs, together with "aus dem Leibe", a human area sensitive to disturbance, thus attacking the reader's equilibrium. Then, with the third "und wenn ..." all playful pretence is discarded in the language of "Leidenschaft" in which

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80. M.L.Baeumer, *Das Dionysische*, p.38.

Heinse speaks as if with his natural voice after the *Empfindsamkeit* falsetto.<sup>81</sup> For the description of Music's assault on the seat of "Rührung", the heart, Heinse amasses an impressive arsenal: the oxymoron, the mention of death, the aggressive "schlagen" echoed by the countering "zurückschlagen", the doubling of the earlier "fünfmal" to "zehnmal", the weight of the adjectives "bitter, schwer,<sup>82</sup> stark, heftig" and, of central importance, the image of the "Ungewitter" lashing Night with lightnings: there is no question as to the simultaneously ecstatic and destructive Dionysian force of this language.

The adjectival past participle "geläutert" is worth further attention. The word means being intensified and clarified by repeated distillation. With its purgative connotations the word can be linked to the concept of Catharsis in Aristotle's description of tragedy, in which he stipulates that "language enriched by a variety of artistic devices" produces the cathartic effect", i.e. language "possessing rhythm, and music or song".<sup>83</sup> Music

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81. M. Dick, discussing Heinse and the outlook of Epicurus and Chaulieu, finds: "Leidenschaft ist für ihn [Heinse] kein bloßes Amusement, das zum Zeitvertreib - mit der entsprechenden geistigen Überlegenheit - genossen wird, sondern selbst ein absolutes Ziel. Mit der Hingabe bis zur ekstatischen Entzückung muß der Charakter des Spielerischen verlorengelassen." *Der junge Heinse*, p. 30.

82. In *Laidion* (III,9) Heinse describes a young man unable to wake from a pleasant dream "vor zu schwerer Wonne", another instance of his language breaking away from the lightness of the *Rokoko*. See also III,254: "ein schweeres Gewitter von Entzücken", and St. 54: "Und jeder Hayn vor vollen Blüthen schwer/ Sich taumelt".

83. 'On the Art of Poetry' ; in *Aristotle. Horace. Longinus*, p. 39.

also features in Goethe's poem 'Aussöhnung', which Elizabeth M. Wilkinson discusses<sup>84</sup> as Goethe's individual interpretation of catharsis, namely as becoming reconciled, "beklommnes Herz" being "beschwichtigt", resulting in that "Auf-einmal-wieder-können", to use Wilkinson's succinct phrase, all this through the "ungeheure Gewalt der Musik". Heinse had noted that music can powerfully "durch die Nerven zittern"; and Wilkinson similarly finds:

Keine Kunst schneidet so tief in die Seele; die  
Töne rücken glühend an die Nerven unseres ganzen Leibes.

Also, as Wilkinson points out, "Tod muß sein", i.e. a situation of tragedy demands - at least - the feeling of an irredeemable loss. Heinse paints in this required sombre hue by the reference to Juliet's death. The moment of catharsis is for Heinse not, as it is for Goethe, a soothing, calming moment from which issues forth a new grateful acknowledgment of life's beckoning positive aspects, but rather a moment of a great surging peak of feeling, the near-death of ecstasy. Wilkinson describes the moment of catharsis as one of "plötzlicher, durchdringender Erhellung". Heinse's lightning metaphor parallels this concept of sudden illumination with particular pictorial vividness. The reverberating "schlagen" and "zurückschlagen" show the young Heinse's much more forceful depiction of the permeative process compared to that of the old Goethe, where music gently "schwebt hervor auf Engelsschwingen", also to permeate completely

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84. 'Goethes Trilogie der Leidenschaft als Beitrag zur Frage der Katharsis', in *Freies Deutsches Hochstift*, (1957), pp.69-88.

the recipient: "Des Menschen Wesen durch und durch zu dringen".

Besides the impact of music, the agitation caused by the glance of the beloved may also be depicted by a lightning metaphor. Heinse may be indebted here to Hofmannswaldau's lines: "Ich bin verletzt durch deinen Augenstrahl,/ Der seinen Blitz in meine Brust getrieben",<sup>85</sup> when he describes the impact on Kleon of Almina's first startled look: "Als ob ein Strahl durch mich geblitzet habe"(St.23). However, Hofmannswaldau's lightning is "driven" into the breast, where it then lodges, rather in the manner of one of Zeus's somewhat mechanical thunderbolts. In Heinse's "durch mich geblitzet" the lightning has turned into a live current, affecting the whole being in its force, so that the original metaphor has been given dynamic energy.

Devastation is often part of this sort of metaphor with Heinse. Thus Fiordimona "hat einen Blitz in den Augen, womit sie alles niederschmettert"(IV,239;RA,229).<sup>86</sup>

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85. *Deutsche Dichtung des Barock*, ed. Edgar Hederer, p.215. The metaphor itself goes back at least to the thirteenth century, as here in Schenk von Winterstetten's 'Dienst ohne Lohn': "Minne, heile mîne wunden,/ Diu mir in vil kurzen stunden/ von der strâle dîn geschach. mich hât ob ~~zwei~~ liechten wangen/ sêre ir ougen blic gefangen." *Deutscher Minnesang* (1150-1300), ed. Friedrich Neumann, p.132.

Incidentally, Wieland seems to be linking Heinse and Hofmannswaldau when he refers to *Laidion* (letter to Fritz Jacobi, 28 May 1774, (ZZ, p.9)) as "dem schönen, abenteuerlichen Ungeheuer". The second stanza of Hofmannswaldau's 'Ich bin verletzt ...' runs: "Wen brennt die Nacht der Liebesflamme nicht/ Als die zur Glut dem Menschen ist erkoren?/ Ein ganzes Meer löscht nicht ihr schönes Licht,/ In dessen Abgrund Venus ward geboren,/ In Wellen schwamm dies schöne Ungeheur,/ Und bleibt ein Feuer."

86. See also I,168; and IV,159;RA,151-152; and IX,199.

Almina's glance in the *Stanzen*: "wie Blitz und Schlag und Flammen/ Auf einmal sind, und Alles stürzt zusammen"(St.9) is of the highest shattering intensity. Heinse matches this intensity in the biographical account of Tasso which he wrote for *Iris*:

Welch ein Blick, welche Herzen, als er und seine Leonora sich wieder sahen! Tasso sah in die Sonn', es ward ihm dunkel vor den Augen; tausend Blitze schlugen auf einmal ihre Flügel in ihm, und alle Fiebern seines Herzens lechzten in stechendem Feuer; der Engel des Todes führte ihn weg. (III,260)

Here the lightning image is linked to that of the beating wings of a flock of (trapped?) birds. "Schlagen", implying vehemence, but also the beating of the heart, is again the operative verb. For this high point of emotion Heinse masses just that sort of "condensed, vivid expression, . . . both graphic and pungent; . . . always concise and often metaphorical" that Blackall discusses in connection with Breitingen's concept of "Machtwörter", the lack of which, according to Breitingen, accounted for the flabbiness ("Mattigkeit") of German writing in his day and age.<sup>87</sup> So powerful is the rise of emotional intensity from one element to the next in Heinse's sentence above that only death can be its culmination, and only the continuing narrative makes clear that Tasso has not really died.

When "Mattigkeit" - highly untypical for the sanguine, lively Heinse - washes over a passage, as it does in the stunned apathy caused by Wieland's crushing criticism, his despondent spirit is reduced to a single intermittent beat, all in vain ("vergebens"). Yet even here "schlagen",

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87. Blackall, p.281.

with its inherent strength is Heinse's choice of verb, his "Genius" is attempting revival:

Ich bin jetzt so traurig, mein Geist ist so sehr von den Kämpfen verschiedener Leidenschaften betäubt, daß mir alles gleichgültig ist, ... .. Ich sitze da, ... .., wie ein schlaftrunkner Mensch, ... ..; und nur bisweilen schlägt mein Genius einen Blitz mir durch die Seele - aber er versucht vergebens der Gottheit nachzuahmen, die einst die Bildsäule Pigmalions belebte. (IX,176; 2.1.1774)

The implied self-description "Bildsäule", together with the image of the (normally all-powerful) lightning's impotence to kindle life blend into a picture of frozen hopelessness.

In *Laidion* "blitzen" describes the impact of poetry and, once more, of music, ("die zauberische Allmacht der Poesie und Musik") (III,122) in the form of a fiery song by Sappho sung to the heroine by a young man. "Funken sah ich aus seinen Augen blitzen", and "Jeder Ton blitzte durch mein ganzes Wesen", she relates. Again highest emotion is life-endangeringly intense: "Ich flog in seine Arme, und starb an seinem Busen". O.Keller discusses the abrupt ending<sup>88</sup> of this "Schäferstündchen"<sup>89</sup> from the *Anakreontik* through the "aus irrationalen Schichten machtvoll hervorbrechende Liebeskraft". Keller however oversimplifies Heinse's subtle use of "blitzen". (which concerns both eye and ear, blending them in one sensory experience: "alle Lebensgeister . . . zu einer Wohnung der Liebe geschmolzen") and limits them to the eye only.

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88. *Wilhelm Heinses Entwicklung zur Humanität*, pp.52-54.

89. In *Ardinghello* Lucinde calls a "Schäferstündchen" "eine gewitterhafte Stunde", again marking Heinse's more elemental stance compared with the "Tändelei" of *Rokoko* or *Anakreontik*.

Heinse's admiration for Sappho's art is likely to be a contributory factor to the occurrence of death-related phrases in connection with his own lightning imagery. An unpublished second version (III,631) of his translation of Sappho's ode in *Laidion* (III,166) confirms this surmise. The relevant excerpts from both versions demonstrate Heinse's model:

Published:

Ein feines Feuer unterlief  
mir die Haut urplötzlich;/  
vor den Augen wird es mir  
dunkel/ . . . und als stürb  
ich in wenig, bleibet aus  
mir der Athem.

Unpublished:

Aber plötzlich lief unter  
meiner Haut weg/ Stechend  
Feuer: Nacht vor den Augen,  
. . . ich scheine zu sterben,  
kaum noch/ Athmend ein  
wenig.

A long unpublished footnote (III,631) deals with the unassailability of Sappho's art to all imitations, be they "in den süßesten italienischen Sonetten . . . , geschweige in den deutschen Kirchenversen". Full of admiration Heinse exclaims:

Welcher Mann, welche Dame, und wenn ihre Lebensgeister  
das brennendste Feuer des Prometheus wären, hat wohl  
jemals so was bey ihrem Phaon, bey seiner Laura  
empfunden? Nacht vor den Augen, Sausen in den Ohren,  
kalte Schweiß, das Gesicht des Todes in den Augen.

Here is also the origin of the phrases describing Tasso in his agitation above: "dunkel vor den Augen", "in stechen-dem Feuer", "Engel des Todes". Heinse, though acknowledging Sappho's supremacy, yet does not hesitate to attempt further intensification of her passionate language by the fluttering wings/thousand lightnings metaphor above. The death element is used by both Sappho and Heinse in all seriousness to capture the momentous scale of the upsurge of (usually erotic) excitement, where life paradoxically is experienced in life-threatening intensity.



Wieland is no stranger to the proximity of "Wollust" and death, yet here too he imposes the comic mode. In the description of Aurora for instance "vor Wollust sterben" as applied to eyes, is but one of a list of appealing features, broken up and thereby in its impact reduced by the comically simplistic "und ... und" recitation.

Das süße Rosenroth das ihren Leib umfließt  
Und einen Mund der Griechisch küßt,  
Und Augen die in Wollust starben. (WSW, III, 10, p. 205)

In *Idris* (p. 108) a nymph is about to succumb to a young faun. Here "sterbend Aug'" is part of a description of increasing realism, the reader being gripped by the unfolding stages of the action through the three-times-repeated "schon":

Schon sieht er matte Gluth ihr sterbend Aug' erfüllen,  
Schon glitschen ihr die Knie, schon sinkt ihr Arm zurück,  
Und seinem Siege fehlt nur noch ein Augenblick.

With this moment the limits set for Wieland by the dictates of the "moralische Schönheitslinie" and the comic muse are reached. Intervention, a "Lücke", becomes imperative and is achieved by a flashing magic sword, "des Zauberdegens Blitz" (p. 107). "Lightning" here serves Wieland's purpose of preserving decorum by *eliminating* the "Rührung"-threatening element, the throbbing real life:

In diesem Augenblick entführt der Zauberdeggen,  
Der hier kein Leben übrig läßt,  
Der Nympe das Gefühl, dem Jüngling das Vermögen.

In the *Stanzen* (St.s 23, 24) Kleon also experiences a moment of immobility - the result of the "Blitz" of Almina's glance:

Als ob ein Strahl durch mich geblitzet habe,  
Blieb starr ich stehn, wie ein verlaßner Knabe,  
Bei diesem Blick.

Here the lightning seems actually to spark off Kleon's desire and, in complete contrast to Wieland's treatment, to drive him *into action*:

Doch währete nicht lange/ Die Schüchternheit,  
und wich der Liebe Wuth. Ich eilt ihr nach.

The momentary pause has a strangely symbolic aura at another level, marking as it were Heinse's last brief moment of hesitation before plunging on to attempt a new bold realism of expression.

Wieland's stanza ends, significantly:

Der Ritter, von Natur und Ahnungen gepreßt,  
Mißbilligt bey sich selbst die Härteigkeit der Feen,  
Und bleibt gedankenvoll bey dieser Gruppe stehen.(p.108)

Reading between these lines, Wieland's regret and mild protest at the rigidity of the literary code of behaviour is discernible, to which - unlike Heinse - he nevertheless bows. He becomes for a moment the knight, forced, against the urgings of Nature, to apply the hard incisive power ("des Zauberdegens Blitz") of a higher authority, namely that of good taste, and thus to suspend the pulsating orgiastic life and condemn it to the artificial immobility of a tableau. The "Lücke" is achieved: "Bewegungslos am Boden angeschraubet"(p.105) "bleibt Bildern gleich die ganze Gruppe schweben"(p.107).

The flashing magic sword in *Idris* is part of the comically magic world of the "Feenland" with its generally cloudless skies ("unbewölkte Lüfte",p.19). Storms are rare and turn out to be part of the "Zauberwerk" (p.245). They have an entertaining indoor theatrical quality about them, like so much scenery being manoeuvred about, and the sounds-effects department busy so that "des Himmels

Achse kracht"(p.194). The literary depiction of a storm has become so worn-out a rhetorical formula for Wieland and his salon audience that he can confidently dispense with it altogether at one point:

Die Dichter haben schon so manchen Sturm beschrieben,  
Daß ein Gemälde hier euch wohl entbehrlich dünkt!(p.96)

Yet, in the manner of traditional rhetoric storm and cloudburst can underline a charged situation, such as Aurora's acute embarrassment (WSW,III,10,p.226). In the same scene he employs the "stormy look" metaphor: "So einen Blick, als ob ein Donnerwetter/ Ihm in die Seele schlug", which Heinse may have copied for his Almina in the *Stanzen*.

In the cosmogonical section of his *Briefe von Verstorbenen* Wieland paints a charming, gentle, anthropomorphic picture:

Nach und nach, . . . , entschwungen/ Sich die Himmel  
dem Nichts. Die jungen sanftlaechelnden Sonnen/  
Huben ihr glyhendes antlitz empor und sahen verwundernd/  
Halb gebildete Welten, nach ihrer bestrahlung begierig/  
Ihnen entgegen taumeln.<sup>90</sup>

Heinse could be drawing on this model, since part of the conversation between Ardinghello and Demetri also forms a cosmogonical exposition, given an altogether Heinsean splendour though by the inclusion of the thunder-storm metaphor on the grandest, eternal scale:

Es begann die Zeit: . . . . Die jungen Sonnen wälzten  
sich und wuchsen, bis jede sich aus ihrer Sphäre,  
gleich ewigen blendenden Gewittern von lauter Blitzen  
und Wetterstrahlen . . . . zusammengesammelt hatte,  
und besäten den Himmel. (IV,282; RA,270)

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90. *Wielands Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Fritz Homeyer, vol.2, p.34. The early version quoted from this edition seems preferable to the late version (WSW,XIII,Supplemente 2, pp.294-295) which has "neu entstandenen" instead of "sanftlaechelnden".

Perhaps because of the remoteness of the cosmos *audible* thunder is absent here; instead there is tripartite concentration on the *visual* impact: "blendend", "lauter Blitzen", "Wetterstrahlen". "Zusammengesammelt", with its near-polyptoton massing and "-samme-" assonance and its almost pleonastic prefix successfully presents the bunched-up concentric light source.

One more application of a lightning metaphor has to be added to this list of lightning and thunder imagery in Heinse's writing: the "süßer Blitz" of a kiss. Two instances occur in *Ardinghello*, of which the first is not strikingly original:

Ich hielt sie umschlungen, und raubte den ersten Kuß,  
der wie ein süßer Blitz mein Wesen durchfuhr. (IV, 49; RA, p. 47)

In the second example, however, there is something of that quality which Blackall, when discussing Goethe, calls the "Golden Touch":

Hier neigte sie ihre Lippen nach den meinigen, ich ward von einem süßen Blitz durchschlängelt, und meine Seele schwebte in der Herrlichkeit des Entzückens wie aufgelöst von allen Banden. (IV, 131; RA, p. 125)

Blackall shows how Goethe's "genius as a word-artist begins to announce itself", and how he eventually transcends borrowed influences and becomes "unmistakably and completely" Goethe.<sup>91</sup> In a similar way, an expressiveness which is peculiarly Heinse's asserts itself here: the kiss as such is not mentioned but is absorbed in the picture of the lightning which, vehement and sweet at once, "snakes" through *Ardinghello*. Then follows one of the many renderings by Heinse - another "word-artist" - of a moment of utter

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91. Blackall, pp. 489, 495.

rapture,<sup>92</sup> when the soul, freed from all earthly constraints,<sup>93</sup> is suspended "in der Herrlichkeit"<sup>94</sup> des Entzückens". In the Tasso biography such a "seeliger Augenblick" is pushed beyond the sensation of "floating" in bliss to one of being "weighed down" by the scale of the rapture, likened here to a heavy storm:

. . . wobey der Himmel in seeligen Augenblicken sich nieder läßt und mit der Menschheit vermählt, wo der ganze Inbegriff seiner Wonne wie ein schweeres Gewitter von Entzücken auf unserm Herzen liegt. (III,254)

Herein lies Heinse's "golden touch", in this lifting of sensory experience, as that of the kiss above, out of the "low passion" category into a realm of splendour normally associated with the divine, without in the course of this elevation assigning it purely ethereal form: every last fibre of the body is set tingling in sensual awareness. That is the import of the unusual "durchschlängeln", which in conjunction with the lightning image represents visually a multiforked pervading electric charge.

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92. For instance IX,23, the account of crossing the Zugersee during the Italian journey. The aesthetic connotations of that experience will be discussed in Chapter III. See also Baeumer, *Das Dionysische*, pp.75-76.

93. Eichendorff's poem 'Mondnacht' has the combination of a kiss and the soul freed: Heaven quietly kisses Earth, and the beauty of the night elevates the soul of the speaker so that it spreads its wings as if to fly home: "Und meine Seele spannte weit ihre Flügel aus". Quiet reigns ("sacht", "leis", "still geküßt", "stillen Lande") and there is of course no lightning. *Das große deutsche Gedichtbuch*, p.387.

94. N.B. The Lord's Prayer runs: "Dein ist die Kraft und die Herrlichkeit in Ewigkeit". This is merely quoted here to show the lofty implications of "Herrlichkeit", not as a suggestion of Heinse's religious belief.

A kiss is also the necessary physical constituent in Laidion's god-like ("ich als Zevs"[sic]), immortal ("in der ganzen Unsterblichkeit") moments of absolute bliss ("der Genuß dieser höchsten Glückseligkeit"). Yet such "Übermaß von Wonne" in which bosom and nerves "mit solcher Entzückung aufschwellen" must be due to more than the merely physical: "ein geistiges Wesen". "Die physikalische Kraft eines Kusses kann unmöglich all' unsre Lebensgeister in eine so heftige Wallung setzen", Lais finds. Then Heinse lets her articulate rapture in uniquely somehow three-dimensional completeness,

Wir fühlen uns durch und durch  
in einer Masse von Wollust schwimmen. (III,123)

In the *Stanzas* the line "Gleich Blitzen flammen um die Lippen Küsse" (St.27) is retained by Heinse to stand solitarily, with three and a half lines of St.26 deleted above and four lines of St.27 below, and so jumps off the page with greater impact than in the complete version Wieland received. Deleted are three more lines involving thunderstorm imagery, immediately preceding the quoted line: "Und endlich brach, nach hundert Donnerschlägen,/ Im Sturm hervor entzückend süßer Regen"; and immediately following: "Auf jede Stille folgt ein Donnerschlag". All are part of the stanzas Wieland singled out as objectionable. The lines "Empfindung muß von angeschwollenen Sinnen,/ Wie Regen aus zerblitzten Wolken rinnen" (St.17) are not among them. Kisses, lightnings, thunderclaps, lightning-torn clouds, all are massed in plural, even centuplicate, concentration in Heinse's venture to deal frankly with the sexual act, and perhaps to justify the title "Feuer-

genius" (IX,180) for himself when illuminating such a scene for once "mit den feurigsten Strahlen der Phantasie". By such an undertaking Heinse in his own estimation can rank himself amongst a very select group:

Der Genieen sind wenige, die die Dinge der Welt beschreiben, oder darstellen, wie sie sind; in allem ihren Leben, ihrer Schönheit, ihrer Häßlichkeit; . . . dazu gehört das starkfühlende Herz, der grosse Geist, der die ganze Natur, wie mit reinen Sonnenstrahlen umfaßt, und tief in ihr Wesen dringt. (III,376) (My italics).

For that aim of penetrating to the essential core ("Wesen") of Nature, imagery derived from the thunderstorm in all its violent unbridled manifestations makes an excellent tool. On the other hand the whole exercise of "die Dinge ... darstellen, wie sie sind", would have to receive a hostile reaction from Wieland, jeopardizing as it does for him the "moralische Schönheitslinie", or decorum, and the retention of the comic mode in its support. In this area Heinse's lightning and thunder imagery may thus in fact be seen as symbolizing the rift in outlook between himself and Wieland.

Still one more item needs to be included in this exploration of Heinse's lightning imagery. It concerns a notable omission from his vocabulary, which - were he as closely identifiable with *Sturm und Drang* as the "Genie" preoccupation might suggest - one might expect to find in his writing. This is the *interjectio stupentis* or *admirantis* "Blitz!" (or such variations as "Donner!", "Donnerwetter!", "Blitz und Hagel!"). Apart from one instance in the third of his *Musikalische Dialogen*, where his early mouthpiece Waldmann stops the "einfältigen Hochmuth" of the pedantic Cantor with a "Poz Wetter!" this form of exclamation

(I,331) does not find favour with Heinse, although all around him it was in vogue.<sup>95</sup>

The last word in connection with Heinse and lightning imagery may be taken from his friend Klamer Schmidt, enthusing about the recently published *Ardinghello* in words which echo the quotation from St.9 of the *Stanzas* which started off this examination:

Ardinghello hab ich verschlungen. Daß Heinse so etwas schreiben würde, ahnte ich schon vor 15 Jahren. Schon damals war jedes seiner Gespräche elektrisches Feuer, nur einer Reise bedurfte es an die Quelle der Künste, um Blitz und Schlag auf einmal hervorzubringen. (Letter to Abel, March 1788; ZZ Nr.56, p.30)

Possibly the phrase "Blitz und Schlag auf einmal" was Heinse's, perhaps remembered by Schmidt from Heinse's conversational style, which itself was like "electric fire", i.e. lightning. To have the accolade "Blitz und Schlag auf einmal" bestowed as an epithet on *Ardinghello* by a reader is surely an indication of Heinse's success in putting the "Sprache der Leidenschaft" into practice.

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95. This is the impression gained from a list assembled in DW:

Schiller: "Was? der Blitz!  
Das ist ja die Gustel von Blasewitz."

Goethe: "Blitz, wie die wackern Dirnen schreiten!"

Goeckingk: "Mein Seel, ein braves Pferd!  
Wenns unter mir - der Blitz -  
Nur ein acht Tage gienge."

Fr.Müller: "Blitz! was ist das? Blitz, meint Er etwa,  
Er habe seine Buben vor sich?"

Lenz: "Blitz und Wetter! weiß Er was  
Herr Gevatter Schulmeister? Blitz und Wetter  
in all die Schöngesteerei hinein!"

Klinger: "Blitz Junge!"



WIELAND'S "LÜCKEN". PART 2

It is time to return to the interrupted discussion of Wieland's "Lücken", in order not to become guilty of that quality of "half-ness" which characterises one example of these distancing devices, namely, Wieland's tendency to set the limiting point beyond which he does not permit himself to go, *half-way* along the line of any full development.<sup>96</sup> Perhaps Heinrich Laube had in mind this quality of "half-ness" of Wieland's vis-à-vis Heinse's new advance, when he describes Heinse as "die Wielandsche Halbheit überspringend".<sup>97</sup> The prominence of "ganz", "alles", "voll" in *Laidion* and the *Stenzen* is an indication of Heinse's desire to portray sensory experience more fully and with more force. Thus *all* is shattered by Almina's glance: "Alles stürzt zusammen" (St.9); *all* of Almina is revealed: "Und alles nun - und aufgethan der Himmel" (St.10); she submerges her *whole* body: "Nun taucht sie ganz die Gluth von sich hinein" (St.11); and the highest moment: "voll Wuth", "daß alle Nerven girrten", "voll verzückter Seelen" (St.s 26,27). The opening scene of *Laidion* already finds Heinse resorting to a polyptoton to encompass the full extent of feeling: "Wir gingen . . . in die Gärten . . . um die Empfindungen

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96. In *Diogenes* the lady's lapdog tugs "mit schalkhaftem Lächeln" at her scarf and reveals playfully "die Hälfte eines sehr weißen und sehr reizend geründeten Busens". (WSW, IV, 13, p.19). And Aspasia, in the arms of her friend, is "in eine andre Welt/ Mit ihm entzückt, und halb, wie er, entkörper". (WSW, III, 9, p.124). Idris, at the first brief encounter with his beloved is "von Wollust halb entseelt". (p.145)

97. Op.cit. p.LV.

ganz zu empfinden"(III,4). Such examples abound in *Laidion* and add up to an air of impatience with what must appear as half-hearted timidity on the part of Wieland.

Another "Lücke" of Wieland's might be called the "Polster-Lücke". It appears through Wieland's predilection for upholstered comfort as part of his voluptuous scenario. This is a buffer-like "Lücke" which effectively keeps out-door "real" Nature and its comic-threatening elemental happenings at a distance. Thus a young man is found attracted by the charms of a lady who is reclining "auf einem kleinen Thron von Polstern".(WSW,IV,13,p.19) The faun/nymph encounter which the "Zauberdeggen" interrupts takes place - the height of absurdity! - "auf weichem Kanapee"(p.107). Heinse makes perhaps this practice the object of his ridicule when, in a letter to Gleim(IX,26), he speaks of Wieland as seated on his "Versepolster".

In the *Stanzen* Nature herself provides support for the lovers who are "auf Blumen hin in weiches Moos gefallen" (St.25), and similarly, Lais is "auf Rosen taumelnd hingesunken"(III,85). This is a far remove from Wieland's cushions, although "auf Rosen" admittedly has none of the naturalism of the first example and is really no more than a *Rokoko* cliché which Wieland might also use. But then the break with tradition is the avowed aim of the *Stanzen*, and came after *Laidion*.

Roses, or rather rosebushes make frequent appearances as part of Wieland's technique of retaining comic distance. This perhaps favourite screening apparatus increases in size, it seems, in scale with the increase of a threat

of Heinsean "Rührung".<sup>98</sup> In the *Stanzas* there are roses, but no rosebush, demonstrating that Heinse's contribution to a new creative freedom lies in the *absence* of such an intervention between "Phantasie" and a "lebhaftes Gemähle von Empfindungen" (IX,180), i.e. a life-like depiction of Feeling. In the earlier *Laidion* there is still one occurrence of "Rosenbüsche". The three "Grazienquellen" are hidden amongst them, and they enhance the enchanting setting and adorn the "bliss-givers", as Heinse addresses the springs in an inventive welcoming panegyric:<sup>99</sup>

Willkommen ihr Quellchen! die ihr in jedem Tropfen einen ganzen Himmel hervorsprudelt! Ihr Seligkeitengeberinnen! Es sind deren drei, . . . In einem kleinen Thale sind sie in den schönsten Rosenbüschen, dergleichen in allen Himmeln keine mehr wachsen, unter immerblühenden Rosen in einem Myrthenwäldchen verborgen. (III,182)

These eternally flowering roses so close to the lively springs are in particularly strong contrast to Wieland's mechanical, manufactured stage-prop substitutes for Nature.

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98. The "Rosenbusch" which screens Aspasia "halb entkörperert" (WSW, IV, 13, p.19) grows into a "dicht verwebtes Rosengebüsche" in the Cynthere/Bacchus scene mentioned above (WSW, III, 10, p.26) and can even become a whole copse of roses: "Amor hatte noch nicht ausgeredet, als plötzlich ein kleiner Hain voll aufblühender Rosen unter ihm emporstieg". (WSW, III, 10, p.78). The rosebush-"Lücke" acts as a neutral, attractive, intervening object, onto which the reader's attention is directed, away from possible passionate involvement. By appearing "plötzlich", or, like a *deus ex machina* "zum Glück", its theatrical artificiality is left deliberately undisguised, an amusing but effective trick.

99. The inventiveness lies in Heinse's creation of the composite noun "Seligkeitengeberinnen". Inspiration for it may have come from Klopstock's ode 'Die Glückseligkeit Aller': "Tausendarmiger Strom, der herab durch das große Labyrinth strömt: Reicher Geber der Seligkeiten". *Oden*, p.45.

Perhaps the most striking contrast to Wieland's secluded boudoir settings where lapdogs slyly provide an amorous stimulus comes in Heinse's bacchanalian mass bathing scene (III,179), in which several thousand of the most handsome members of both sexes participate "in der unverhüllten Blüthe der jugendlichen Natur". The celebration of nakedness reaches out to the reader: "Beym Lesen wünschest Du Dich schon befreyt vom Kleide", though ostensibly Aristipp is the addressee. Undoubtedly M.Dick is right in stating that the change to verse underlines the "Steigerung" by which "der begrenzte individuelle Bereich" is "durchbrochen", so that the scene takes on the character of an "überpersönliches Geschehen, indem sich überindividuelle Lebenskräfte offenbaren". In the first stanza Wieland's influence is discernible: "Rosenblut", "Zephyre", "Wellen" which "hüpfen hinauf an manche Rosenbrust". There are involuntary comical effects: "es hüpfet die Seel' in alle Nasen", and the ill-matching combination "Nasen/Ekstasen", or a line like "es zappelt wohl alles an Dir nach diesem Himmel her!". Yet the intent is clearly, as Dick (p.140) puts it, "Darstellung des rauschhaften Genusses der Schönheit und der Liebe." Still slightly comical is the young Heinse's attempt at conveying the consuming reciprocated passion of Helen and Paris: "Ach wie er sie - sie ihn, beynah mit Küssen isst!" The "Ach!" and "O" exclamations convey the stance of an approving spectator,

and the sequence of brief impressions making up the second stanza forms a pattern of accelerating intensity, culminating in frenzy ("es tobt"), and soul-melting

ecstasy ("die Seel'... fängt zu schmelzen an"):

Ach Busen schmiegen sich an Busen! alle Zungen  
Beseelen sich! Kein Sinn hat zu genießen Frist!  
Es tobt die Jugend - es hüpf't die Seel' in alle  
Nasen

Und fängt zu schmelzen an bey Jedem in Ekstasen. (III, 179)

Through the headlong rush into frenzied movement ("Kein Sinn hat zu genießen Frist/ Es tobt") combined with an inner "melting", what Ludwig Klages has called an "Ewigkeitsmoment" is reached.<sup>100</sup> This point, where the soul loses its identity and melts in ecstatic frenzy, epitomizes what Wieland abhors most and sees as a manifestation of an insatiable excessiveness which can never do more than numb itself momentarily.<sup>101</sup>

The *Knittelves* ending of Heinse's second stanza (from "es hüpf't" to "Ekstasen") : may be seen as no more than evidence of Heinse's in general not very noteworthy talent as a versifier. Even so, he fulfills the rule

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100. *Vom Kosmogonischen Eros*, pp.55,69-70; quoted by M.L.Baeumer, *Das Dionysische*, p.77.

Baeumer quotes Klages's assertion that "neben der Ekstase kraft innerer Sprengung" there is also "Ekstase kraft innerer Schmelzung". (My italics). The "Ewigkeitsmoment" describes the moment of highest erotic feeling (in which "der Eros seine höchste Vollkommenheit empfände").

101. This point of view is expressed in *Briefe von Verstorbenen*, (WSW, XIII, Supplemente 2, p.335):

"Philedon, mitten in Wonne/ Lechzest du noch . . . /  
Nenn es nicht ein Entzücken das ganz die Seele befriedigt, /  
Ganz durchglühet, wenn irgend ein Taumel die Sinnen  
berauschet; / Nenn es nicht Freude der Seele, wenn sie,  
vom wilden Getümmel/ Der Empfindung betäubt, sich selbst  
verlieret!

governing the *ottave rime* by the change in the verseform in the last two lines, combined with a summing-up of the import of the preceding six lines. W.Kayser calls the "Oktave" stanza "eine Fürstin unter den Strophenformen", and points out the "gegengewichtigen Charakter" of these two lines and their sometimes crowning function.<sup>102</sup> Therefore, when Wieland, a superlative master of the craft of verse-making, breaks off - (in itself quite correctly) at a high point of "Leidenschaft" after six lines, but then descends to the bathos of a *Knittelvers* for the last two lines - his reason is likely to be his perpetual goal of avoiding "das Übertriebene und Aufgedunsene" by which the "moralische Schönheitsmaß der Weisen"<sup>103</sup> might be imperilled. In other words: this is a "Lücke". This happens in *Idris* (p.27) where the nymph's rising excitement while spying on the hero "creeps" like a slow-burning fuse from "Blick" to "Busen" to "Blut" to "ganzen Leib" and finally impels her forth "des Liebesgottes voll und seiner süßen Wuth". Then comes the "Lücke", the collapse from this peak of passion into laughable banality:

Er hört ein Rascheln, stutzt, erschrickt,  
Und plötzlich wird von ihm die schöne Nymf' erblickt.

Wieland's truly "biederer" *Knittelvers* has an eight-syllable first line followed by an uneasy twelve-syllable jostle in the second, given an unpleasing staccato rhythm by the six one-syllable words. The elementary force "des Liebesgottes ... Wuth" is registered by *Idris*

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102. *Kleine deutsche Versschule*, p.46-47.

103. *Die Grazien*, (WSW, III, 10, p.103).

as a "Rascheln" - a sound a mouse might produce, or geese, as in Humperdinck's opera *Hänsel und Gretel*.<sup>104</sup> Idris, the "Jüngling" at the heart of the scene, is discreetly dropped almost out of sight by dint of the passive construction. The next stanza informs the reader that "Idris, unser Held, bewaffnet mit Ideen, blieb kalt". Idris "erschrickt", and similarly Almina in the *Stanzen* looks at Kleon "voll Schrecken"; Idris "stutzt", and likewise Kleon "blieb starr stehen" at sight of Almina. However, Idris remains unaffected, whereas for Kleon the momentary pause of "stutzen" implies a giving way to that elementary force Wieland is at such pains to deflate into a mere "Rascheln" - "der Liebe Wuth":

Als ob ein Strahl durch mich geblitzet habe,/ Blieb starr  
ich stehn, wie ein verlaßner Knabe,/ Bey diesem Blick. Doch  
währete nicht lange/ Die Schüchternheit, und wich  
der Liebe Wuth. (St.s 22,23)

The following presents a "Lücke" where an actual interloper dispels the threat of Heinsean "Rührung". When the virtue of Idris is vigorously assaulted by the beautiful nymph and her victory begins to appear not at all impossible, Wieland defuses the tense situation by conjuring up a "Mittelsmann" who interrupts the developing excitement of the scene just by his "Dazukommen".<sup>105</sup> He is not an adjudicator, as his name might suggest - although

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104. In the opening scene *Hänsel und Gretel* sing: "Suse, liebe Suse, was raschelt im Stroh?/ Das sind die armen Gänse, sie haben kein' Schuh'."

105. "Sie rüstet sich, den Streit von neuem anzufangen, Und Amor weiß zu wessen Ehre,/ Wenn nicht ein Mittelsmann dazu gekommen wäre." (p.28)

his presence serves to keep the parties involved apart - but really a meddler,<sup>106</sup> if one takes sides with Heinse, namely, a remover of "Gluth", i.e. "Leidenschaft", and restorer of the cool comic distance to which Wieland is committed.

There is of course no intervening "Mittelsmann" in the *Stanzen*; and yet it is very curious how the fast and urgent flow of Heinse's narrative is inexplicably interrupted by the opening lines of St.25:<sup>107</sup>

O stehe still! Almina! stehe stille!/ O warte doch, dort liegt ja dein Gewand!/ Wo läufst du hin so nackend ohne Hülle!/ Bedenke doch, Prinzessin, deinen Stand!/ Zu stehlen dir's, war wahrlich nicht mein Wille -

The clue to the puzzle may lie in the next line: "Jetzt hascht ich sie, hielt fest und überwand -", the line which marks the beginning of the final break with tradition. Could it be that the young Heinse holds back just momentarily in the inanity of the lines above before irrevocably committing himself to a new realism?<sup>108</sup> It is almost as if Wieland's reprimanding influence has prompted these lines, which have a comical sound, as if uttered by a scolding governess in hand-wringing, breathless pursuit. If she is the spectre of a "Mittelsmann", she is swept aside as the description of the love scene between Almina and Kleon takes its course.

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106. "Mittler" in Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften* is not unlike this figure.

107. These lines have already been mentioned in fn.26.

108. A psychological reality is of course also reflected in a moment of "Schüchternheit" (St.23) at this point.



Another, more elusive kind of "Lücke" has Wieland feigning lack of vocabulary in his pains to retain the illusion of the Lightheartedly Beautiful as a mode of literary expression:

Wohlan, Madam, wofern es je geschah,/ Daß Ihre Tugend  
sich in einem stillen Haine,/ Von Rosen überwölbt - zur  
Abendzeit - alleine -/ Mit einem Freund befangen  
sah -/. . . - nicht wahr, *es pochte da/ Ich weiß nicht  
was, wofür der Dialekt der Musen/ Noch keinen Namen hat,*  
in Ihrem sanften Busen? (*Idris*, p.281)(My italics)

Here the beating heart itself, the focus of "Rührung", in such a state of Heinsean agitation, finds Wieland confronted with an unsolvable problem, and has him conceding defeat by claiming the unavailability of the right word from his, the comic side of the divide. This shying away from direct description of deeply felt emotion makes up the "Lücke" here.

One final example may suffice to demonstrate Wieland's "Lücke"-technique. It comes after Wieland's genuine lyrical expressiveness attains for a moment all of that quality of "hohe einfache Schönheit" which Heinse upholds as an ideal:

Ja, Amor flüstert mir daß ich dich finden werde/ Du  
meines Herzens Königin! Ich suche dich, so weit  
die Sonnenpferde/ Des Tages goldnen Wagen ziehn,/ Bist  
du zu schön,, um die Bewohnerin/ Zu seyn von dieser  
niedern Erde./ So soll, dich in vollkommnern Sfären/ Zu  
suchen, Amor mich des Äthers Pfade lehren. (p.140)

This Amor is an exulting presence,<sup>109</sup> reassuring Idris in his touching quest to find Zenide. Yet, again Wieland's comic muse reasserts her greater claim on him: the speaker

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109. Cf. also *Musarion*, (WSW, III, 9, p.59): "Amor, nicht der kleine Bösewicht . . . /Der Seele Führer . . . stufenweis durch die gestirnten Pfade/ Bis in den Schooß des höchsten Schönen".

*breaks off* and chattily addresses his audience on a point of general knowledge, namely, the tendency of the infatuated to think aloud. In other words, he *explains away* and almost apologises for the moment of "Rührung": "So rief ich, denn, ihr wißt, verliebte Schwärmerey/ Denkt gerne laut".

Wieland, it seems, wants to give the impression of not possessing the capacity of becoming really deeply moved, almost as if *that* would offend against "Anstand" and good taste. Here Wieland shows some affinity with the sort of "Moralisten" whom Heinse attacks with such vigour ("die größten Heuchler!" (I, 210)). The moralists' solemn admonitions are to blame, according to Heinse, for the fact that most Germans find the "Sprache der Leidenschaften" incomprehensible:<sup>110</sup>

Die Sprache der Leidenschaften ist daher fast den mehrsten Deutschen unverständlich, weil sie die Leidenschaften nie gefühlt haben, und weil ihnen ihre Moralisten auf das feierlichste verbieten, sie zu fühlen. (*Musikalische Dialogen*, I, 214)

Certainly, in Wieland's case the intellect, given expression in the wit of the comic mode, must at all times be *perceived* to be holding the controlling reins, since an abandonment to Feeling might all too easily open the adjoining door to the dangers of "low" passions ("Begierde"), and possibly

110. Heinse's term "Sprache der Leidenschaften" bears close resemblance to Breitinger's term "Sprache der Affecte", discussed by Blackall. It is the "pathetische, bewegliche, hertz-rührende Schreibart", the old "grand" style of rhetoric speaking directly to the emotions, for which Breitinger would admit looser, more emotive syntax. Asyndeton, aposiopesis and anacoluthia and the origin of poetic inversions are in its nature. Quoted from Blackall, p. 288. Heinse does not use Breitinger's term, perhaps for sounding too scholarly, not in itself appealing directly to the emotions.

bring a breakdown of propriety: permissiveness in fact. Seen in this light, a "Lücke" by Wieland, like the one above dismissing the articulation of a love that knows no bounds as mere infatuation ("verliebte Schwärmerey"), can be seen as a compromise (and here is a tension between wit and feeling which Blackall (op.cit.p.415) questions ). On the one hand Wieland holds the stance of a poet who takes a responsible view of his role as an upholder of the moral values of the society of which he feels himself to be very much a part, on the other he has shrewd psychological perception with an almost unlimited range of poetic inventiveness, from which an aura of benevolence towards mankind, with all its failings, is never absent. The "Lücke", one might say, is a bastion against "Zügellosigkeit,"<sup>111</sup> a term mentioned in connection with the "Genie" concept and with Heinse. Wieland (ostensibly describing the early Arcadians' feasts) speaks of "zügellose Fröhlichkeit" inevitably followed by an "allgemeinen Rausch". This he offsets with the implied refinement of his readership (and himself):

Das feinere Gefühl des Schönen und Anständigen,  
... den züchtigen Scherz und das witzige Lachen,  
und diese liebliche Trunkenheit, welche die Seele  
nicht ersäuft,<sup>112</sup> nur sanft begeistert. (WSW, III, 10, p.58)

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111. Diary entry by Sulpice Boisserée of 10 September 1815: "Sonntag den Zehnten abends bei Goethe. . . . Ich lese den Ardinghello. Gespräch über Heinse; Zügellosigkeit des Genies; . . . .  
*Goethes Gespräche*, ed. Flodoard v. Biedermann, p.336.

112. Heinse on the other hand has Laidion's soul drowning in a "Strudel von Wonne". See quotation below, p.92.

In this way the unbridgeable gulf between Wieland's outlook and Heinse's goal of more unrestricted articulation of the highest peaks of feeling human beings can experience is clearly to be seen. The "Genie" concept is for Heinse closely linked with his goal, in fact the degree of its success is the standard by which a "Genie" may be judged, ("der untrüglichste Maßstab, nach welchem die Größe der Genieen gemessen werden muß"(II,355)). Few German poets are able to measure up to this yardstick for Heinse - again an indication of the exclusive, elitist group status of the "Genie" for him:

Ich finde immer, . . . , daß Wenige unter den deutschen Dichtern so glücklich gewesen sind, die hohen Grade der Leidenschaften richtig zu beschreiben. Unsere besten Dichter stürzen bisweilen von dieser Höhe herab, wenn sie mit ihren unzulänglichen Kräften sie zu erreichen streben.(II,355)

As for the poet as upholder of moral values, the "Genie" status confers a special liberty of expression and presentation:

Die Dichter, Mahler und Romanschreiber haben ihre eigene Moral. . . . Die Moral der schönen Künste . . . zeigt die Menschen, wie sie sind und zu allen Zeiten waren, in hervorstechenden Handlungen, allen Menschen zum Vergnügen, zur Lehre und Warnung. Es ist einem Genie also erlaubt, alles zu beschreiben und zu mahlen, was geschehen ist und geschehen sein kann. Es ist ihm erlaubt, die schönsten und häßlichsten Handlungen und Gedanken der Menschen *in den ausdrückendsten Worten* zu erzählen und zu mahlen.(II,12; my italics)

This freedom to deal with any subject-matter in the most expressive way does not however imply dispensation for a poet who commits the sacrilege of defiling the ideal of "hohe einfache Schönheit", an ideal which may at times be equated with articulating the highest degrees

of passion (II,355). In his recension of Wieland's *Endymion* Heinse in thinly veiled terms gives him a strong hint (though played down as a "bezaubernder Wink") that he considers him to be one of the "Blasphemisten der griechischen Schönheiten" (II,346). The crime, as has been mentioned before, lies in Wieland's at all times intellectualized treatment. "Das witzige Lachen" of comic distance and one of its main procurers, the "Lücke", immediately come to mind again here.<sup>113</sup> Such a largely calculating and emotionally uninvolved approach Heinse dismisses under the heading "Sinus- und Tangenten-Berechnungen":

Diese Ausrechner sind Handwerker, und können keine Kinder des Geistes hervorbringen, da kein Genius in ihren Köpfen lebt. (I,213)

The "Genie" on the other hand, "ein Herz voll Gefühl, ein Geist voll Feuer" ("himmlisches Feuer" the implication is, and here of course lies the link with Heinse's lightning imagery) writes "im Taumel", i.e. from an inspired imagination, ("im Taumel der Phantasie"(IX,183)), or, as he puts it in the *Musikalische Dialogen*:

Im Taumel der Begeisterung, geschwind  
Verfertigt man das Seelenkind. (I,213)

This special endowment of the "Genie", his "eigner Sinn" which enables him to feel - and this is very important: "*im Herzen*" - the sublimity of Beauty, and to convey

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113. O.Keller (p.60), though discussing lucidly the difference between Wieland and Heinse ("statt schillernden Spiels echte Ergriffenheit"), yet considers Heinse to be "admiring" Wieland, an indication of how well Heinse disguised his disapproval.(Heinse e.g. speaks of the "sehr mishandelten griechischen Schönheiten" (II,346) -no admiration there!). See also Baeumer, *Mehr als Wieland seyn*, pp.141-145 on other "Fehleinschätzungen" of this kind, namely the interpretation of Heinse's attitude towards Wieland as harmonious.

it as "Rührung", this special quality Heinse allots to himself and questions in Wieland:

Die hohe Schönheit zu empfinden,  
Dazu gehört ein eigener Sinn,  
Der muß sich schon im Herzen finden  
Sonst rührt er keine Charitin.

(From the *Halberstädter Büchse* of 1774, (I,86))

Here in fact is one of the earliest formulations of Heinse's Feeling for Beauty, which, as has already been noted above, holds profound meaning for him. It is no accident that the term "hohe Schönheit" appears again in *Ardinghello* towards the end of the important philosophical discussion on the roof of the Rotunda, to be followed shortly afterwards by a definition of the kind of person who possesses this special sense ("den reizbarsten, innigsten Sinn"). Ardinghello is discussing the Beauty of Nature here, but for Heinse the concept of Beauty must always be taken in the widest aesthetic sense as well. Shortcomings ("Mängel") which the person defined cannot abide can therefore be of the kind which Heinse attributes to Wieland, namely, not upholding the Beauty of classical form, and, being "raisoniert":

Und wer den reizbarsten, innigsten Sinn für die  
Schönheiten der Natur hat, ihre geheimsten Regungen  
fühlt, deren Mängel nicht vertragen kann, und denselben  
abhilft nach seinen Kräften: der übt aller Religionen  
Wahrstes und Heiligstes aus. (IV,332; RA,315)

Seen in this light, the *Stanzas* are an attempt by the young Heinse to put right ("abhelfen") as far as he is able ("nach seinen Kräften") the literary state of affairs as represented by Wieland.

## 6. HEINSE IN THE *GENIEZEIT*

For an understanding of Wilhelm Heinse's writings up to 1774 it is often more profitable to apply the term *Geniezeit* rather than the more common *Sturm und Drang* as a categorizing label. Heinse's apparently strong allegiance to Rousseau, which according to H.Hettner made him "ganz und gar zum Genossen der Sturm und Drang-periode"<sup>114</sup> has been shown by M.Dick to contain a number of "tiefgreifende Differenzen", and can be traced back to a blurred interpretation of Rousseau's thought, as Dick shows.<sup>115</sup> The feeling of compassion, for example, or the giving up of individual claims within a larger social context as a means of liberalisation from social pressures are two of Rousseau's ideas which Dick mentions as not finding an echo with Heinse. The same goes for Rousseau's religious theme of virtuousness, and love of the state in the *Social Contract*. Like many a contemporary, Heinse seems to have used Rousseau to boost his own ideas: naturalness unhampered by convention, unhindered freedom of expression. Rousseau serves as a kind of stepping stone towards the "Sprache der Leidenschaft" in which the "Genie" speaks. Wieland, without whom Heinse might have had a lot less raw material out of which to fashion a new mode of expression, in the end gets scant acknowledgment for the important role he played in this development, for instance through the formidable extent of his knowledge

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114. *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, p.254

115. *Der junge Heinse*, p.118

of literature, his always elegantly controlled style, his ability: "Ridendo vicere rerum".

It is right to describe Heinse as a "Stürmer und Dränger" to the extent that in him the change from a view of the world and of art ruled by reason and anchored in society is replaced by the *individual's* emotive interpretation of all around him and beyond. In Heinse the emphasis, as was also the case with Edward Young, is on the extraordinariness of the voice which puts forward this new view, the "Genie". There is clearly an element of pride in Heinse at belonging, as if to an exclusive club, to the "Genieen", which explains why he, the penniless nobody, seems at times to be looking down on the established, admired Wieland. Is there not an autobiographical whiff in Laidion's ramblings on how to improve her situation, under the heading 'Vom wahren, von Gott und allen Weisen erlaubten Stolze'? (III,130). Having diagnosed her great failing as meekness ("Schüchternheit"), she resolves to dispense with this forthwith, and continues:

Ich war, vor Verdruss über mein Schicksal, völlig überzeugt, daß ich weiser, witziger, scharfsinniger und vollkommener in den schönen Künsten und Wissenschaften war, als alle die kleinen großen Männerchen, die sich so sehr mit ihrem Witze und ihren seichten Kenntnissen blähten.

It is intriguing to note that in this feeling of exclusiveness Fritz Jacobi, a representative of *Empfindsamkeit* and not really a "Genie" soul-mate of Heinse's is able to stand shoulder to shoulder with him:<sup>116</sup>

Wie gerne ich den gewöhnlichen Umgang gewöhnlicher Menschen entbehre, ist Ihnen bekannt genug; Ihnen, der Sie mich so oft dabey so großmüthig unterstützten. (Letter to Heinse in Italy; 20.10.1780)

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<sup>116</sup>. R.Zoepfritz, *Aus F.H.Jacobi's Nachlaß*, p.34.



So far it has been shown that the "Genie" concept is decisively present in much of Heinse's thought during his early development as a writer. Examining how this factor influenced Heinse's relationship with Wieland has not only made it possible to outline the "Genie" concept more clearly, but has also provided an opportunity of bringing Heinse's very telling use of lightning imagery more closely into focus.

This has also meant, however, that material not directly connected with Wieland, some of it of undoubted interest, has not so far been considered. Important here, since it demonstrates the remarkable verbal versatility of Heinse in the occasional adoption of a style which does not really suit his temperament, is the peculiarly "empfindsam-schwärmerisch"<sup>117</sup> kind of *Anakreontik* associated with Gleim, Heinse's patron and fatherly friend, and J.G.Jacobi. Their correspondence with its gushing expressions of mutual admiration and friendship in embarrassingly girlish, simpering diminutives was not taken too seriously by everybody.<sup>118</sup>

But the young Heinse, whether from a feeling of indebtedness and affectionate loyalty or a wish to please and, above all, to impress, joins in with a will, addressing Gleim

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117. Alfred Anger, *Literarisches Rokoko*, p.65.

118. Klopstock wrote to Caecilie Ambrosius: "Und die Briefe von Gleim und Jacobi haben Ihnen so sehr gefallen? Diese vielen Tändeleien gefallen Ihnen doch nicht in allem Ernste?"

*Briefe von und an Klopstock*, ed.J.M.Lappenberg, p.209

as "Idol mio!", thanking him for his "allerliebstes Briefchen", on receipt of which he "Beynahe wär . . . vor allzuhefftigem Entzücken dahin gefahren"; and the liberty of addressing "meinen theuersten Gleim" makes him blush, he claims, ("fühl ich die Scham der Schüchternheit in meine Wangen hinaufkriechen") like a girl ("wie ein Mädchen, ein schnellblütiges, zärtliches Mädchen, wenn es schüchtern sich den Muth faßt, ihren geliebten Jüngling zum erstenmahl zu küssen".) (Letter of 28 January 1771; (I,11))

In *Laidion* this style receives a most unusual extension in the chapter entitled 'Todesbetrachtungen'. Gleim's poem 'Todesgedanken' may have been an influence, with its "Carpe diem" theme of the *Anakreontik*, where Life beckons to be lived in the shape of roses, kisses, and wine before Death ends all. Heinse, however, breathes a quite astonishing degree of sensuality, far beyond the stylised narrow delineation of the accepted tone of the *Anakreontik*, into Laidion's address to her soul. The result is a most impressive demonstration of what Langen sees as "ein Merkmal jenes Biegsamerwerdens der deutschen Sprache in der Rokokozeit":<sup>119</sup>

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119. 'Deutsche Sprachgeschichte', column 1057.

Langen also gives a comprehensive survey of the formula-like vocabulary of the *Anakreontik*, its diminutives, its terminology originating in the area of sexuality, its element of secularized religiosity which links it with Pietism, (although it openly disclaims this); Gleim's favourite words "klein" and "lieb"; the subjectivation of the language with its tendency to the possessive pronoun; words like "ganz" and "voll", and composite verbs with the prefix "entgegen-", demonstrating the movement towards one another. (Columns 1054, 1055)

O mein liebes Seelchen, 120. . . Du Leckermäulchen nach süßen Küssen, nach schäumenden Bechern Chier! Du kleine Liebhaberin von aufgeschwollnen Pflaumbetten mit Rosenblättern bekleidet! Du Näscherin der strafbaren Empfindungen! - o mein allerliebstes Seelchen, was wird aus Dir werden? . . . o Du armes verlaßnes Seelchen, . . . Ach, Du armes mitleidenswürdiges Seelchen! . . . Ach, keine Lippen werden Dir die entzückendsten Empfindungen zu trinken einschenken, wenn sie von Kriegsgöttern in heftigen Umarmungen mit brennenden Küssen in ein Meer von Wonne getaucht werden, und kaum Athem holen können! Ach, kein bezaubern- des Brüstchen wird die geistigsten Wellen der Lieb' ins glühende Herz Dir wallen! Nie wieder wirst Du armes geplündertes Seelchen die lieblichste Aengstlichkeit fühlen, indem Du, in einem Strudel von Wonne fortgerissen und verschlungen, Dich sippsend und schluchzend emporarbeitest! ach, mein allerliebstes Seelchen, was wird aus Dir werden, wenn Du aus diesem niedlichen, allerliebsten Wohnhäuslein wirst gewandert seyn? (III,35)

There is a linguistic exuberance in Laidion's concern for her soul, which exploits the cloyingly sweet diminutive endearments and stereotypes from *Anakreontik* and *Rokoko*:

liebes, allerliebstes, Seelchen, kleine Liebhaberin, Leckermäulchen, Näscherin, süße Küsse, schäumende Becher, Pflaumbetten, Rosenblätter, entzückendst, bezaubernd.

"Aufgeschwollne Pflaumbetten" is already too strongly direct in spite of the *Rokoko* love of cushions it seems to

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120. As a possible source of "Seelchen" Opitz may be mentioned. DW quotes: "mein seelichinn, mein flattergeist, deß leibes gast und spieszgeselle"; and adds: "From the Latin: *animula vagula blandula*."

Also, from Luther's last prayer: "las dir mein selichen befolgen sein".

DW lists no instance of "Wohnhäuslein" as the soul's bodily dwelling-place. "Wohnhaus" comes nearest, as in Fleming's address to the beloved: "du wohnhaus meiner seelen".

DW also lists Christ.v. Ryssel's 'Seelenfrieden' (1685): "der leib ist nicht der mensch, sondern nur sein Wohnhaus".

indicate; and with "einschenken" the "Sprache der Leidenschaft" takes over with Dionysian force. Submerging in a sea of ecstasy ("Meer von Wonne") waves of love lap the glowing heart,<sup>121</sup> and with the intensifying oxymoron "lieblichste Aengstlichkeit" and the dynamic strength of "fortgerissen" there is finally a devouring whirlpool of ecstasy, with survival only gaspingly, sobbingly achieved. The suggestion of a spiritual kinship ("geistige Verwandtschaft") between Heinse and Nietzsche, which M.L.Baeumer explores from the angle of the Dionysian dimension of their thought, finds Heinse in "Sprachrhythmus und Stil" as a predecessor of Nietzsche.<sup>122</sup> Baeumer discusses the "zerreißende Spannung des rauschhaften dionysischen Erlebens". Such near breaking-point tension, aided by strands of paradoxical contrast (like the oxymoron) is glimpsed here, and the impression reinforced by "Berauscher Bacchus" being mentioned in the concluding paragraph as one of those to whom Laidion addresses her hymns.

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121. "Glühendes Herz" is one of the strongest differentiating self-labels of the *Sturm und Drang* personality against the cool comic of the *Rokoko* or the rule of reason of the *Aufklärung*. Cf. "heilig, glühend Herz" in the quotation from Goethe's 'Prometheus' above.

122. *Heinse-Studien*, p.115.

Nietzsche may be strikingly linked in style to the passage above. In the section entitled 'Mittags' in *Also sprach Zarathustra* Zarathustra addresses his soul: "Du kleine Diebin, du Tagediebin!" (Goldmann edition, p.225)

There are other early attempts at articulating an ecstatic breaking of human boundaries (Baeumer's term is "rauschhafte Entgrenzung"), characteristic of the Dionysian phenomenon. Drowning, being petrified, choking, general loss of control feature in turn in these examples:

- 1) . . . , indem meine Seele schon in überschwenglicher Wonne bis an die Lippen steckend beynah' ertrinken wollte . (III,76)
- 2) Wie wir so Busen an Busen in der Laube vor Entzücken beynahe versteinert hingegossen da lagen, und außer uns nichts mehr empfanden, . . . (III,123)
- 3) Zu süßes Entzücken/ Erstickt den Ton!/ Mit taumelnden Blicken/ Erkenn' ich schon/ Die Göttin - Entzücken!/ Laidion! (III,85)  
Des lautersten Entzückens sich bewußt,/ Das taumelte, wie Gottheit, in den Sinnen . . . (St.32)  
Und jeder Hayn von Blüthen schwer sich taumelt .. (St.54)
- 4) Noch lechzend, ab den wonnetrunken heißen/ Verirrten Geist von Nektarlippen ziehn -/ Den letzten Blick - in den sich aufzulösen/ Die Seele strebt, in weinenden Getösen.

In another memorable example Heinse has Laidion describe rapture with the aid of synaesthesia: a musical trill superimposed on vision (prosaically it would be "fluttering eye-lashes"):

Ich kann Dir die Scene nicht besser beschreiben, Aristipp, als wenn ich Dir sage, daß seine in Entzücken schwimmende Seele mit den Augenwimpern auf den Sehpunkten der Augen lauter - Triller zitterte. (III,73)

The threatened loss of self, inherent in the concept of ecstasy, plays a part in the description of Kleon's state, towards the end of the *Stanzen*: "wenn, sich entrückt, Alminen er gesungen". (St.51) Urania, (later in *Ardinghello* to be the "glänzende Jungfrau, deren Zaubergürtel das Weltall in tobendem Entzücken zusammenhält" (IV,283; RA,270)) first appears in her ecstasy in the *Stanzen*:

Uranien - aus Perlenschaum geboren, / Von Rosenduft nach  
Paphos hingeweht/ Im Muschelthron; entzückt in sich  
verloren/ Und außer sich, voll süßer Majestät. (St.53)

The grand cosmic vision, of which Urania "entzückt in sich verloren und außer sich" forms the ecstatic centre point, demonstrates how far the young Heinse was able to leave behind the narrow confines of the *Anakreontik*. There is something theatrically spectacular, even operatic, about the final scene of the *Stanzen*, with the gods arranged all around, and the "Volk der wilden Faune" below joining in homage to Ecstasy in the shape of Urania. The atmosphere throbs with the sound of the tritons' flutes and becomes heavy ("schwül") with an ecstasy which sets alight all space:

Und die Tritonen blasen/ Im Flötenton; Und Himmel, Luft  
und Meer/ Schwül werden, vor Entzücken heimlich  
rasen;/ Und Feuer fängt der Aether. (St.54)

Heinse wrote *Laidion*, he says, from the desire "wenigstens mit der Phantasie in die Gesellschaft heitrer und weiser Griechen und Griechinnen zu gelangen".(IX,20) It would appear from the above that he succeeded in this aim.

The "Genie" has played a large part in bringing out the difference between Heinse and Wieland in this chapter. The "Genie", who receives a quite remarkable definition from Heinse, shall also bring this chapter to a close. Heinse's achievement is extraordinary, as he manages to bring to life ardently (and with "Genie" himself) the "Genie" personality in one immense structure, befitting *its* vast dimensions:

. . . den zarten scharfen Sinn; diese volle Seele; dieses allmächtige Gefühl, das gleich einem fürchterlichen Zauberer die Leidenschaften aus den Tiefen der Hölle und den Höhen des Himmels in den Kreis seines Herzens fordert, den Blick voll Kraft, der in ein Alles auf einmahl sieht, und alles darinnen gegenwärtig hat; das Feuer, das die Bilder der Dinge zusammenschmelzt, und in ihrer schönern Gestalt, von ihren Schlacken gereinigt, wieder hervorbringt: das mit der Geschwindigkeit des Blitzes den Empfindungen nachfliegt, in ihrer höchsten Wuth sie erreicht, ergreift, und festhält und darstellt - daß er [Tasso] den Riesengeist hatte, der mit den Adlerschwingen einer starken Phantasie über Wolken fliegt, und über den Mond, und, die Sonne vorbey, in die Gestirne, und in einem Paradiese der Milchstraße sich niederläßt, frohlockend die Pfade seines Flugs betrachtet, und jugendlich lüstern durch das Weltsystem rund um sich hersieht, hell und heiter erblickt alle Sterne im grenzenlosen Raum schwebend mit ihren Planeten und übermenschlichen Wesen, und in einem lyrischen Augenblicke - größer, als die Unermeßlichkeit - Gott, und sich in seinem Herzen.

(From the essay, *Leben des Torquato Tasso*; III, 263)

Heinse apologises "demüthiglich" to his lady readers for having possibly said some "unverständliche Dinge" and for his longwindedness: "Ich weiß dieses große Genie . . . nicht deutlicher in der Kürze zu beschreiben".

(III, 264) The opening of the sentence from which the above quotation is taken (the subject in fact) is a cluttered list of items concerning Tasso, with Ariosto also being dragged in, and gives no hint of what is to come. This suggests that Heinse's pen may simply have run away with him as the idea took hold of his mind. Such an apparently spontaneous increase of impetus during the course of the development of a thought is by no means rare in Heinse's writing.

The sentence lists no fewer than six distinctive features of a "Genie": 1) "den zarten scharfen Sinn", 2) "diese volle Seele", 3) "dieses allmächtige Gefühl", 4) "den Blick voll Kraft",

5) "das Feuer", 6) "den Riesengeist". It is a remarkable testimony to Heinse's talent for using words, in a prose construction, which recreate their subject by a technique which seems instinctively to match its shape. Thus he builds up his picture of the "Genie" *pianissimo* with the adjective "zart", yet immediately adds incisiveness, ("scharf") then roundness, ("voll"), holding "Sinn" and "Seele" in balance. The awesome span of passions ("Tiefen der Hölle" to "Höhen des Himmels") is held in tension by the echoing span "Kreis des Herzens" into which they are summoned by the "Genie". The idea of insight full of force, seemingly tautologically described as seeing "in ein Alles auf einmahl" and being aware of "alles darinnen" has a mirror-like structure and, by way of the polyptoton "Alles/alles" effectively subdivides the elements beheld into the minutest particles, thus demonstrating the "Kraft" of the "Blick". Gathering momentum, Heinse introduces fire, and here there is a hint of Plato's theory of Forms, or at least of a more perfect form ("schönern Gestalt") beyond the images presented to our eyes ("die Bilder der Dinge") which the "Genie" is able to bring forth. Now, however, as the climax of poetic creativity becomes Heinse's immediate object of expression, he resorts to very similar vocabulary to that which described Kleon's pursuit and conquest of Almina: here "nachfliegt" - there "eil auf Flügeln" (St.24); here "in ihrer höchsten Wuth" - there "zum höchsten Sturm geschreckt/ Voll Wuth" (St.26); here "ergreift, und festhält" - there "hascht' ich sie, hielt



fest" (St.25). The conquest there ("überwand", St.25) is here matched by what also amounts to a conquest, when the "Empfindungen" which have been pursued with lightning speed and captured become projected into poetic form: "darstellt". This moment with its erotic connotations of the poet's transmuting Feeling into Word could have ended the depiction of a "Genie" like Tasso. For Heinse it opens the way to a soaring flight of the imagination, following the cosmic path of the "Genie"'s gigantic spirit ("Riesengeist"), in ever greater joy, youthful exuberance, and bright serenity ("frohlockend, jugendlich lüstern, hell und heiter"), scanning limitless space and superhuman beings, and finding finally the supreme experience of all "in einem lyrischen Augenblick", i.e. - in one moment of utter "Begeisterung" in its most literal meaning. In this moment, greater than the unmeasurable, of almost mystic significance, the "Genie" beholds God - and himself in His heart. Almost half of the enormously long sentence is given over to the exposition of "Riesengeist ... mit den Adlerschwingen der Phantasie", showing the very great regard in which Heinse held the power of the imagination.<sup>123</sup>

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123. In his first letter to Gleim he already speaks of the "alle wirkliche Trübsale hinwegzaubernde Phantasie". (IX,4)

Writing to Fritz Jacobi on his Italian Journey while suffering from a bad headache he writes: "Ich Armer habe nichts, als das Sonnenstäubchen meiner Seele - doch - und ein Herz voll Leben, das keine Gefahr scheut, und mich bey dem kleinsten Gute glücklich macht, und eine Phantasie, die gegen alle Uebel aushält, und mich mit Adlerfittichen unbekannten und längst geahndeten Freuden entgegen trägt. Ewig, ewig Dank dem Wesen dafür, das beydes mir verlieh!" (IX,57)

The *Tasso*-passage illustrates an outstanding quality of the writer Heinse, namely, the way in which he is able to give form to his material - words - so that his subject takes shape in front of the reader's inner eye as if in the presence of the work of a great sculptor, or painter, or composer. It is difficult, because of this fact, to quote without irritation Wilhelm Sömmerring (the son of Heinse's great friend the surgeon and anatomist Thomas Sömmerring) who apparently remained impervious to it:

Auffallend ist es, daß ihn [Heinse] sein hauptsächlich aufs Plastische gelegter Kunstsinn nie antrieb, sich in einer der bildenden Künste zu versuchen . . . vielleicht erlaubte ihm dies seine ungeduldige Lebendigkeit nicht, die ihm das langsame Schaffen und Nachbilden des Künstlers verleiden mußte. (ZZ,p.50)

Heinse is a "bildender Künstler"; his medium is the word. "Nachbilden" or, in Richard Benz's inspired formulation: "Nachhallen",<sup>124</sup> is Heinse's particular strength.

Thus the upwards impulsion within which lies the essential mark of the "Genie" and his ultimate proximity to God runs through the *Tasso*-passage in a musical flow:

"Sinn - Seele - Kraft - Feuer - Geschwindigkeit des Blitzes  
- über Wolken - die Sonne vorbeig - durch das Weltsystem  
- Gott". It is significant that Heinse's passage should bring to mind a similar soaring towards "Unermeßlichkeit" with its sense of the nearness of God, namely, Beethoven's Choral Symphony with words from Schiller's 'Ode to Joy'. Here the sopranos attain and hold the musical equivalent in remoteness of "Unermeßlichkeit": a high A, while the altos beneath intone once more "Freude, schöner  
124. Op.cit., p.14

Götterfunken". At the moment of greatest closeness to God, Beethoven's score is marked *piano*, and with the words "Ahnest du den Schöpfer, Welt?" the sopranos rise once more on an ascending line (cf. Heinse's "in die Gestirne") towards the high A: "Über'm Sternenzelt", remote and serene. For a moment they, and their listeners with them, are suspended, as the "Genie" and Heinse's readers are - "in einem lyrischen Augenblicke, größer als die Unermeßlichkeit", and for this one moment sense ("ahnen") what Heinse's "Genie" perceives ("erblickt"): "Gott, und sich in seinem Herzen". The sheer verbal artistry with which Heinse creates the picture of this supreme moment, on a par here with the musical artistry of Beethoven, justifies the claim that Heinse's achievement may be ranked among the "bildenden Künste". The Tasso-passage forms a fitting conclusion to this survey of the early period of Heinse's writing.

It has been found in this chapter that Heinse, though he owes much to Wieland, yet consistently breaks out of Wieland's literary code, its standard of decorum, and its comic, playful *Rokoko* framework, and transcends even that degree of self-assertion which characterizes the *Sturm und Drang* period in general. The strength, colour, and new expressiveness of the style and the many instances of lightning imagery receive much of their force from the presentation of the "Genie"; so that Goethe was right when he claimed for Heinse's writing of this time that it left Wieland "weit hinter sich".

## CHAPTER II

### HEINSE - WINCKELMANN

#### WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HEINSE'S STORM IMAGERY

Edle Einfalt und stille Größe das wahre Kennzeichen des hohen Griechischen gewiß; aber nicht allein.

Wir Neuern sind von dieser hohen Stille weit entfernt; und unsre Künstler müssen sich gleichfalls davon entfernen, wenn sie der Natur nachwollen. . . . Der Teufel hohle ihre ungefühlte, maustodte griechische Exerzitien; Signor Abate Winckelmann kann sich daran laben nach Belieben.

Nichts wirkt recht auf den Menschen was stille steht; aller Stillestand ist im Grunde todt. (VIII,1,560; 556)

#### 1. HEINSE CONTRA WINCKELMANN IN THE FIRST *GEMÄHLDEBRIEF*

With the publication in 1755 of Johann Joachim Winckelmann's *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst* the concept of Beauty, a much discussed eighteenth century topic, received clearer focus in two important aspects: ancient Greek culture was recognised as having brought about the highest artistic achievement. Its imitation was upheld by Winckelmann as the only way for later generations to win greatness or, possibly, inimitability. Secondly, Winckelmann, drawing on a variety of sources from French classicism, achieved the formulation of "Edle Einfalt und stille Größe" which has since become a commonplace

label with which to dub Weimar Classicism in literature and Neoclassicism in Art history.<sup>1</sup> In 1764 Winckelmann published his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, the work which launched History of Art and Archaeology as subjects of serious investigation.

To these achievements may be added one more, to which Langen draws attention, namely: the tremendous linguistic ambition behind them, which broke new ground in the development of the German language.<sup>2</sup> Langen describes the special position which Winckelmann's style holds in this connection:

Eine Besonderheit, die wie ein riesiger, erratischer Block zwischen der Aufklärungssprache und den zerfließenden Ergüssen der Empfindsamkeit steht, "klassisch" nicht in Maß und Klarheit, aber im Willen der geprägten Form.

Langen quotes Winckelmann's demands on the intellectual participation of his readers, "Wo der Zusammenhang ist, finde wer da kann denselben!", and his presupposing educated readers, "die der Sache nicht unkundig sind und nicht Unterricht, als Erinnerung ihrer Kenntnisse wünschen".

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1. M.L.Baeumer has traced the origin of the phrase "Edle Einfalt und stille Größe", and found as the source not Adam Friedrich Oeser (1717-1799) - as is still often held - but rather the authors who participated in the literary feud *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, principally Boileau (with whom Heinse shows himself acquainted in his early writings), also Michel le Clerc, Pierre Daniel Huet, and others. Count Anne-Claude-Phillipe de Caylus, with whose writing Winckelmann was familiar, and with whom he was personally acquainted, preceded him with a very similar formulation, although Winckelmann was the first to encompass all forms of art within it. M.L.Baeumer, 'Simplicity and Grandeur: Winckelmann, French Classicism, and Jefferson', pp.63-78.

2. 'Sprachgeschichte', column 1148.

Concerning style, Langen quotes Winckelmann as wishing to summon up for the description of the Belvedere Apollo "den höchsten Stil, eine Erhebung über alles . . . ich werde jeden Ausdruck abwägen". His aim is "die Schönheiten der Gedanken und der Schreibart aufs höchste zu treiben". All this is to be accomplished with the utmost conciseness, so that "nicht ein Wort weggenommen werden kann".

The importance of Winckelmann's writings was widely acknowledged; and Winckelmann's writings consequently formed part of the library of Gleim, Heinse's fatherly friend; and Heinse was able to get acquainted with them while still in Halberstadt.<sup>3</sup> Heinse's general introduction to the aesthetic mood of his times owed much to Friedrich Justus Riedel,<sup>4</sup> who as professor in Erfurt befriended and encouraged Heinse. To him in particular may be due Heinse's frequently recurring yardstick for assessing a work

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3. In a letter to Klamer Schmidt (of probably 5.4.1774) Heinse refers to *Geschichte der Kunst* and *Ueber die Allegorie* "die ich aus Vater Gleims Bibliothek habe". (IX, 187) Rita Terras's deduction that Heinse's knowledge before 1774 of Winckelmann's work derived from secondary literature is therefore not correct. *Heinse's Ästhetik*, p. 25.

4. Rita Terras is the first to draw attention to this fact and to discuss the various points of influence on Heinse. She shows that Riedel refers to Winckelmann, Mendelssohn, Baumgarten, Bodmer and Breitinger; Dubos, Boileau, Batteau, Swift, Sterne, Fielding; Henry Home, David Hume, Alexander Gerard, and Francis Hutcheson. (Incidentally, the last four ought not to have been grouped by her under "Engländer", nor Home and Hutcheson by M. Dick either.) Terras, *Heinse's Ästhetik*, p. 28; M. Dick, *Der junge Heinse*, p. 70

M. Dick (p. 236, fn. 1) finds Terras to be overestimating Riedel's importance for Heinse and draws attention in subsequent footnotes to various points of difference between them. For a comprehensive exploration of Riedel's personality and aesthetic principles see Dick, pp. 68-80.

of art: its degree of "Täuschung". This notion will be shown in its significance for Heinse as, in M.Dick's words, "der größte Antipode Winckelmanns".<sup>5</sup>

Heinse's *Gemähldebriefe* were written when his co-editorship of *Iris* was nearing its end. They are in two parts, the first written in August 1776, the second in May-June 1777.<sup>6</sup> As so often in the eighteenth century, they were written with publication in mind, and were printed in Wieland's *Teutscher Merkur*. The first part opens like an ordinary letter to Gleim, with the apparent purpose of informing him without hurting his feelings that he, Heinse, had abandoned plans for a novel on the life of Apelles, which Gleim had been encouraging him to write. Heinse's rejection "Lassen wir es", (the three words with which Heinse signposts a turning point in his development, and a break with what Gleim stood for), is relentlessly softened by retracing journeys of the imagination "zu dem Volke des Apelles" while out walking with Gleim. (IX,280-281) The adjectives and nouns, many of them compound, and the dynamic verbs are full of bursting life.

Noun/adjective combinations:

Die immer stärker quellende Fülle/ in jenen unvergeßlichen  
Morgen/ in jenen seligen Augenblicken/ unter blühenden Bäumen/  
das Leben Gottes in dem fruchtbaren Strahlenregen/ die  
herrliche Natur um uns/ herunter in die quellenreiche Täler/  
bey der unvergleichlichen, einzigen Scene/ in seinem lieb-  
lichsten Zaubertanz/ in den heiligen Ueberbleibseln der  
Sonnentempel/ die furchtbaren Horste der Adler/ die  
grünen schattichten Täler/ die klaren Bäche.

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5. Cf. Introduction, fn.1.

6. See Appendix No.2 for a list of contents of the letters.

Verbs (given here in their infinitive form):

Schlagen der Nachtigallen jung und alt / sich röthen des Himmels/ im Purpurfeuer flammen/ im fruchtbaren Strahlenregen hervorbrechen/ ganz der Phantasie leben/ das glücklichste Jahrhundert träumen/ im Tempe herumwandeln/ durch die schönen Inseln seegeln/ in Ionien herumschwärmen/ gestärkt und gleichsam vergöttert seyn/ wieder herunter steigen/ baden/ sich des Lebens freun/ nichts von der Zeit wissen/ fortrennen wie an einander gequollen/ fortrennen von Abend und Morgen und dem andern Tag. (IX,280-281)

If one ignores the concessions to the old *Anakreon* Gleim ("Nachtigallen"; "Tempe") Heinse's pantheistic feeling for Nature shows a striking closeness to that of Goethe. 'Herbstgefühl', written a year before (1775), may serve for a side-by-side comparison:

Goethe:	Heinse:
Gedrängter quellet	wie an einander gequollen
Zauberhauch	Zaubertanz
des Himmels fruchtende Fülle	Das Leben Gottes ... im frucht-
vollschwellend	baren Strahlenregen
	quellende Fülle

No doubt both Heinse and Goethe show here the influence of Klopstock, for example in the adjectival present participles ("fruchtend, vollschwellend"; "quellend, blühend"; (see Langen, column 1120)); but beyond this, in the sustained consistency of the images, there still remains the impression of Nature genuinely felt in its welling fullness in a similar way by both men. The fact that Heinse enthuses about May and Goethe about autumn does nothing to weaken this impression.

The latter part of Heinse's explanation to Gleim shows how far he had come since *Laidion*, that escape from the hardship of his existence into the imaginary company of the Greeks. Now he is no longer content to draw material merely from the imagination, "dem heiligen mitternächtlichen



Gefühl",<sup>5</sup> since nothing but "Mährchen, trockne Nachrichten und Schwärmereyen der Phantasie" can be the result, fooling only the ignorant - in his amusing metaphor, "wie Sancho's purpurne und himmelblaue Ziegen am Himmel". Realistic verbal and visual evidence "Gesicht und Tag und Wort" have become more important as requisites for his work, a stance perhaps showing Herder's influence. (IX,282)

Somewhat perplexingly, in view of the descriptions of paintings to come, Heinse next throws doubt on the possibility of translating one form of art like painting, sculpture or music into another; even "Poesie, die allermächtigste" cannot reconstitute the very particular, individual quality of another art form. However, a considerable part of the *Gemähldebriefe* is used by Heinse for comment on some of the aesthetic topics debated around him. He may well have modelled himself here on Winckelmann, the outstanding contributor to this debate, and decided to pursue a dual stylistic pattern: on the one hand the hymnic-pathetic form for his description of sculptures; on the other, theoretical discourse. (See Langen, col.1148) Seen in this light Heinse, by postulating the inability of words, even if creatively used ("Poesie"), to bridge the gulf to another art form, is simply adding his voice to

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5. Hölderlin, in his outstanding poem 'Brot und Wein', which he dedicated to Heinse, seems to be recalling a conversation with him in which he spoke of the sacred, nocturnal, priest-like role of poets: "Und wozu Dichter in dürftiger Zeit?/ Aber sie sind, sagst du, wie des Weingotts heilige Priester,/ Welche von Lande zu Land zogen in heiliger Nacht".  
*Das große deutsche Gedichtbuch*, p.346

one of the eighteenth century's themes of theoretical discourse, namely: the limited power of words. If this is so, it explains why Heinse next begins to relate at length details of his acquaintance with a young deaf-and-dumb painter with whom he converses in sign language, a method of communication so successful, Heinse claims, that words by comparison have become "lästig"; and signs, perhaps in the sense of Herder's "Sprache des Körpers", recreate the whole spectrum of the sensuous world. Thus "in dichterischer, mahlerischer, höchst sinnlicher Darstellung vom Donner bis zum leisesten Mädchenseufzer" ordinary conversation appears utterly stale. Heinse creates a new word to fit his disparaging intent: "*Gesprächsel mit Worten*". (IX, 283-285) Returning once again to the theme of the inadequacy of words when the task is the description of Rubens paintings, he confesses: "Ich verzweifle beynah in dergleichen Dingen an allen Worten" (341). He clarifies the problem in a vivid life-related metaphor:

Gemahlt und beschrieben ist schier so sehr von einander verschieden . . . wie der Zeiger der Uhr im Julius auf der Ziefer Vier - von dem Morgenroth auf der Höhe des Brocken. (341-342)

Not even Winckelmann in Heinse's view can do more with his descriptions of works of art than supply (as is also the case with the mechanical hands of the clock) an artificial aid to perception, itself of use to only a few:

Selbst die Beschreibungen Winckelmanns sind nur Brillen; und zwar Brillen nur für diese und jene Augen. (342)

Seeing for oneself, "lebendig schauen", Heinse rates

above the "mere word" of description when he invites Gleim to Düsseldorf: "Wie würden Sie das bloße Wort alles so lebendig schauen!" (IX,318)

The first indication that Heinse is about to venture into an area where Winckelmann commands high respect, namely, a discussion of Painting and Beauty, is veiled in language intended to depict him as a young near-savage ("ich junger Wildfang"(IX,288)). The Rousseau badge serves a double purpose: it serves to justify deviation from accepted norms, and it lets him do so without losing face, since a "Naturkind's" naturalness is to be rated above the voice of (tainted) civilisation. Claiming to be unburdened by knowledge old or new, he can afford to reject as immensely troublesome ("eine ungeheure Bekümmerniß") any investigation of the field of aesthetics ("jede Maulwurfsecke"), confident as he is of causing no offence in highbrow or high-society quarters ("die vornehmen Teiche"). This of course is all no more than a careful smoke screen,<sup>6</sup> intended to safeguard in advance against criticism or rejection by Winckelmann's followers on account of the at times diametrically opposed views he holds.

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6. Heinse had in fact carefully researched the subject before writing his "Episteln". They brought him "viel Ehre und Lob", but little other benefit, and left him disillusioned: "Man liest so etwas, wie ander Geschreibsel, ohne daran zu denken, wie viel Studium hat voran gegangen seyn müssen, ehe es daseyn konnte; und wie wenig gründliches und zweckmäßiges von Alten und Neuen, selbst den Vergötterten [Aristoteles?; Winckelmann?] über die Kunst ist gesagt worden". (IX,374)

This rhetorical device blends with the deliberately carefree, untrammelled tone associated with *Sturm und Drang*, its projected "Unbekümmertheit", with its apocope ("Ich geb"; "Quell"), the omission of personal pronoun and article, and close-to-Nature imagery ("Forellen, Karpen, Teiche, Quell, Maulwurfsecke, Morgenrhapsodie"):

Will wie Quell<sup>7</sup> entspringen, ohne mich zu bekümmern,  
ob schon Wasser genug da ist, oder reinerer oder  
vollerer, Rheinquell oder Quell von Donau. (IX,288)

Winckelmann had divided Painting into a number of component parts, each with its own inherent beauty:

Die Schönheit in der Malerei ist sowohl in der Zeichnung, und in der Komposition, als in dem Kolorit, und im Lichte und Schatten.<sup>8</sup>

Heinse compiles a similar list, which however is striking for its repeated addition of the *life* element:

Zuvor das Göttliche, Idee und Zusammensetzung. Dann Zeichnung: Form, Gefäß des Göttlichen, *Leben*. Dann Erscheinung daraus, Kolorit: *Puls und Lebenswärme*. . . . Dann Licht und Schatten: Stellung in die Welt, *Lebensathem*. (IX,289; my italics)

Of particular interest here is the way Heinse - apparently quite without contrivance - incorporates "Steigerung" in the listing of the life element, that organic progress which Goethe rated as one of the two "Triebräder aller Natur", and which he defined in 1775 as "arbeitend immer gleich eine Stufe höher steigen"<sup>9</sup>. This is here clearly demonstrated in the ascent from "Leben" to "Puls und Lebenswärme" to "Lebensathem" with its balancing connotation of breathing in and breathing out, suggesting

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7. How deliberate this language is in spite of the seeming spontaneity is shown by the outrage with which Heinse registers printing mistakes and Wieland's "corrections" of this passage for the *Teutscher Merkur* in October 1776: "Will wie Quell" he confirms, *not* "will wie ein Quell"; "reinerer und vollerer", *not* "reiner und voller". (IX,325)

it seems, that the work of art is not merely an object of contemplation but itself actively involved in producing the aesthetic experience of the beholder. Moreover, the *polarity* of this implied breathing in and breathing out is supported by the polarity of "Licht und Schatten" from which the impression stems. Polarity, the essential second "Triebrad" in Goethe's metaphor, provides through its inevitable tension that upward progression of "Steigerung" which in turn may result in something unexpected and new ("ein Drittes, Neues , Höheres, Unerwartetes")<sup>10</sup>. Perhaps then "Lebensathem", Heinse's crowning and final term, fills exactly that role, as the work of art fully "comes to life".

Winckelmann tends towards sentimentousness in his theoretical writings. Heinse, possibly in direct response to this tone of elevated seriousness, reveals in his own wrestling for formulations which define Art and Beauty a genuine talent for aphorisms, as has been noted by Langen.<sup>11</sup> Here Heinse's "Nominalstil" does come into its own:

a) Stoff ohne Wesen<sup>12</sup> in der Kunst, ist Tod ohne Verwesung; das allerelendeste, was da ist.

b) Richtige Zeichnung verlangt das stärkste Gefühl, das keine Oberfläche hemmt, und das scharfsinnigste Auge.

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8. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften und Briefe*, (Hereafter: KS), p.171.

9. To Auguste von Stolberg, 13 February 1775; to Kanzler von Müller, 24 May 1828.

10. To Eckermann, 18 January 1827.

11. *Sprachgeschichte*, col.1149 on Winckelmann, col. 1139 on Heinse.

12. "Wesen" means here: the creative giving of form ("bildende Kraft", IV,320; RA,304). "Wesen" (together with

- c) Die Mahlerey giebt Dauer völligen Genußes ohne Zeitfolge.
- d) Die erste Eigenschaft des Wesens ist Vollkommenheit; oder Vollkommenheit und Wesen einerley.
- e) Vollkommenheit, Wort; Wesen, Leben. Sinnlichkeit, Gestalt desselben; ist Schönheit oder Häßlichkeit, Harmonie oder Dißharmonie dazu . . . .
- f) Keim ist schön, Blüthe ist schön, und Frucht ist schön, wenn Keim vollkommne Blüthe, und Blüthe vollkommne Frucht werden kann. Mit der Frucht ist die Schönheit zu Ende.
- g) Häßlichkeit ist Abbiß, Saftlosigkeit, Mehltau und Wurmstich. Schönheit ist unverfälschte Erscheinung des ganzen Wesens, wie es nach seiner Art seyn soll. Flecken darinn, todter Stoff, ist der Anfang des Häßlichen.
- h) Schönheit ist Daseyn der Vollkommenheit; und die Berührung des Sinnes derselben, Genuß der Liebe. (IX,289-291; the listing a) to g) is mine).

Example f) above shows particularly well not only the *Sturm und Drang* focus on organic growth but also Heinse's ability to make a profound statement with maximum brevity, in simple terms enhanced by his genuine aesthetic awareness, "schön und einfach".<sup>13</sup> Thus the imagery from the growth cycle of the plant world projects with deceptive simplicity his conviction of the interdependence, in effect the existential oneness, of Beauty and Perfection,

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"Form") are profoundly important terms, explored particularly in the Ardinghello/Demetri discussion (IV,315-334; RA,300-317), Heinse is not always consistent in the use of the term, as Baeumer has also noted (*Heinse-Studien*, p.75), but certainly in his ecstatic extension "Eins zu sein, und alles zu werden" (IV,325, RA,309) of the *Hen kai pan* "Eins und Alles" formula of existence it denotes the essential one eternal Being which in its vitalistic/erotic "Streben nach Genuß" creates everchangingly and infinitely new form out of itself.

13. "So schön und einfach gesagt" was Karoline Herder's and Herder's praise for Heinse's writing on music in *Hildegard von Hohenthal*. (ZZ, Nr.78, p.36)

by which he shows himself at variance with Kant.<sup>14</sup> He reiterates his point in example g) above, and retains it still, more than twenty years later: "Schön ist . . . sinnlicher Ausdruck der Vollkommenheit". (VIII, 2, 424) "Keim, Blüthe, Frucht" without article assume universal significance while still retaining their tactile "graspability". Heinse repeats the "Keim" metaphor when he tries to clarify the possible composite nature of Beauty. Having stressed that in his view comparatives of "schön"<sup>15</sup>, as in such common usage terms "hohe Schönheit, höhere, höchste Schönheit", are strictly speaking inaccurate, since "schön" must always also be "höchst schön", he states:

Das Schöne kann zusammengesetzter werden, kann wachsen, kann verstärkt werden, aber nicht verschönert. (IX, 292)

Winckelmann reserves the term "höchste Schönheit" for God, and sees this as "ein aus der Materie durchs Feuer gezogener Geist".<sup>16</sup> This view is rejected out of hand by the pantheistic and far more materialistic Heinse:

Von Gott können wir Menschen nicht wohl sagen wie Mengs und Winkelmann, daß er die größte Schönheit habe, da wir ihn in keinem Körper gedenken können, und er lauter Wesen und Vollkommenheit ist; wenn man nicht die ganze Natur für sichtbarliche Erscheinung Gottes halten darf. (IX, 291)

Höchste Schönheit die unermessliche Natur in den ungeheuer weiten Räumen des Aethers mit ihren heiligen furchtbaren Kräften, die bis in den kleinsten Staub sich regen, und ewig lebendig sind. (291)

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14. Heinse's refusal to lose sight of his own sensuously defined concept of Beauty through Kant's abstractions is very illustrative of his own lifelong stance, and his impatience with Kant in the privacy of his notebook most entertainingly formulated. (VIII, 2, 424)

15. Perhaps leaning on Winckelmann: "Weil unsere Kenntnisse Vergleichungsbegriffe sind, die Schönheit aber mit nichts höherm kann verglichen werden, rühret die Schwierigkeit einer allgemeinen und deutlichen Erklärung derselben". *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, (hereafter: GK), p. 149

16. GK, p. 150

Thus it is the awesome eternal forces of *Life* to which cosmic vastness and infinitesimally small particles are equally subject, which in their observable form constitute "höchste Schönheit" for Heinse. Winckelmann's concept of divine beauty as a spirit to which human beauty in art has to approximate as nearly as possible, Heinse dismisses on another occasion as "das entkörperte Platonische himmlische Zeug".<sup>17</sup> For Winckelmann such ideal beauty is "harmonisch":

eben so, wie ein süßer und angenehmer Ton durch Körper hervorgebracht wird, deren Theile gleichförmig sind.  
(GK, p.150)

By "harmonisch", which Winckelmann defines in such a vague musical analogy, he means unbroken simplicity of form ("einfach und ununterbrochen"), and brings in a reference to Plotinus's theory of diversity in unity ("in dieser Einheit mannigfaltig")<sup>18</sup> made sublime through "Einheit und Einfalt". Again, when specifying a certain kind of "Harmonie", Winckelmann uses the term awkwardly in its specialised musical sense:

Diejenige Harmonie, welche unsern Geist entzückt, bestehet nicht in unendlich gebrochenen, geketteten und geschleiften Tönen, sondern in einfachen lang anhaltenden Zügen. (GK, p.150)

Heinse takes over the great concept of harmonious parts making a whole. Effortlessly resorting to musical terminology - is there another German eighteenth-century writer capable of doing this? - he presents the overtones (harmonics) which become audible when low C is struck on the piano as "Keim der Harmonie", "der schöne schwache Drey-

17. In a notebook dissection of Wieland's *Oberon*. (VIII, 3, 119)

18. For an elucidation of the Hen kai pan ("Ein und alles") debate, and its participants see Baeumer, 'Eines zu seyn mit Allem', *Heinse-Studien*, pp.49-91.



klang", i.e. composite Beauty in its "weak" form. The bass note ("Urton") of a great church bell is then "der Stamm der Harmonie", the source of allpervading Beauty in its greatest strength, touching the stars like the great oak of the Edda saga:

In dieser Eiche der Edda des Dreyklangs liegt das ganze Geheimnis der Natur. Jedes Tönchen, von den unendlichen, die aus dem Erze quellen, hat wieder seinen Dreyklang in sich. Wenn man der Glocke in die Nähe tritt, so ist es ein Rheinsturz bey Schafhausen von Summsen und Brummen, und das Gehör wird, wie von einem Hagelwetter, zerschmettert. Eben so geht's einem im Getümmel der Welt. Alles aber ist Harmonie, großer durchdringender Zug von Harmonie; Werden, Seyn, und Vergehen, und Wiederwerden, ewig gebährende und ewig vergehende Harmonie; entzückender Dreyklang, der sich durch alle Welten verbreitet, und das Unermeßliche füllt. . . . Gott ist das All der Harmonie, woraus alles entspringt; wie der schöne starke Dreyklang aus dem Grundton. (IX, 292-293)

The style here gains strength and vividness from the linking of abstract to natural object, ("Eiche der Edda des Dreyklangs"; "ein Rheinsturz ... von Summsen und Brummen"). The aural perceptiveness of the reader is called upon in this metaphor based on the triad, or Common Cord, where three notes consisting of a fundamental note with its Third and Fifth constitute the Harmonic base of tonal music. The musical triad at optimum strength heard in the great bell's ringing with its myriad overtones "bis in die höchste feinste Terz" (292), reflecting the age-old symbolism of Three as the token of perfection and harmony, becomes the image for triform eternal cosmic Beauty in its all-permeating harmony of Becoming, Being,

and Fading Away; echoing the earlier "Keim, Blüthe, Frucht" which constitute in their "perfect" state, earthly Beauty. Heinse even depicts the negative aspect of existence in related symbolism based on the triad, which then consists of melancholy, fear, and the final void:

Die Wehmuth, das Bange des Geschöpfes, die endliche Leere, der Sturz in die finstern Abgründe des Nichts bey jeder seiner Freuden, wo es sich von seinem Grundton, Urquelle, Schöpfer, Gott, entfernt. (293)

The basis of harmonics in tonal music, the fundamental tone ("der Grundton") is thus equated with God, the emanating source ("die Urquelle"). By the massing of abstracts ("Wehmuth, Bange, Leere, Nichts") the anxiety in the *mind* of the "Geschöpf" which has lost touch with Harmony is emphasised.

More needs to be said concerning the passage quoted on the previous page, since it reveals the richness of Heinse's style. The "storminess" of *Sturm und Drang* is present in "Rheinsturz, Hagelwetter, zerschmettern, Getümmel"; its "Kraft" element is there in "Eiche";<sup>19</sup> its carefree stance in the colloquialism, with elision: "so geht's einem"; *Sturm und Drang* influence is discernible also in the re-discovery of Northern legend ("Edda") and in the Pietistic elements - possibly via Klopstock - in the "Quelle" and "Strom" metaphors, such as in the synaesthetic "Tönchen/quellen", "entspringen", "Rheinsturz", the latter with the added Pietistic characteristic of "Vertikaldynamik";<sup>20</sup> and in the depiction of the all-penetrating divine force in "durchdringen" and "sich ausbreiten durch".

19. Goethe uses "Buche" as a metaphor for the Straßburg Cathedral tower. *Von deutscher Baukunst*, HA, XII, p.8

20. Langen, col.1072

For the phrase beginning "Alles aber ist Harmonie", and ending "entzückender Dreyklang", Heinse adopts an elevated hymnic tone, thus stylistically marking the divide to the hustle and bustle ("Getümmel") of earthly existence which is left behind. It consists of trochees (8), iambs (7), and dactyls (7):

Alles | aber | ist Har|monie, |  
gro|ßer durch|dringender Zug | von Har|monie, |  
Wer|den, | Seyn, und Ver|gehen, und |  
Wieder|werden, |  
ewig ge|bährende | und  
ewig ver|gehende Har|monie; |  
ent|zückender | Dreyklang.

The word "Harmonie" appears three times in the sentence, surely not by chance, but as a visual reinforcement of the tripartite concept of Harmony in the script itself. The onomatopoeic "Summsen und Brummen" reproduces in the two-syllable assonances "umm" and "en" the bell rhythmically sounding its "Urton". Heinse's for the eighteenth century unique double-m spelling for "Sum<sub>m</sub>sen"<sup>21</sup> which is sustained in "Brum<sub>m</sub>en", conjures up that continuous droning hum always clearly audible in a ringing bell. These are its overtones or harmonics which, together with the "Urton" make up the triad of Harmony. In this way Heinse

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21. DW quotes only Heinse before the nineteenth century for "summsen", otherwise "sumsen", (an intensification of "summen"). DW quotes an excerpt from a poem by A. Volck (1750), in which "Nachklang" (overtones), a bell, and "sumsen" occur: "Du denckest zwar vielleicht: dein Nachklang sumse so, / wie jene grozse Glock, die Moscau kan aufweisen".

captures a sophisticated thought, on the composite nature of Beauty, in two words which could well have come from a child's vocabulary.

When however Heinse links the sound of the great bell heard at close quarters with the ear-shattering roar of the waterfalls at Schaffhausen on the Rhine in the phrase "ein Rheinsturz ... von Summsen und Brummen", he is taking a significant step forward towards new high points in his "Kraftsprache". It would be another four years before Heinse was to experience the falls at first hand, yet his gaze is already turning in the direction where he recognises Nature in greatest turmoil as belonging to the highest form of existence sensuously graspable by Man:

Die allerhöchste Stärke, der wüthendste *Sturm des größten Lebens*, das menschliche Sinne fassen können.  
(X,33; my italics)

"Sturm" therefore will be treated as a sub-heading of this chapter, under which to arrange instances of such turmoil, especially where they occur in the *Gemähldebrieft*. There are two reasons for this: some of Heinse's most outstanding writing was in response to such instances, also they serve particularly well to illustrate areas of greatest contrast to Winckelmann. The first storm-related instance may come as a surprise in view of the "turmoil" just promised. It comes as the culmination of Heinse's reflections on the possible composite quality of Beauty, and acclaims epiphonematically its first primeval *stirrings* ("Wehen"). There, in the movement, life, non-stillness this implies lies the alignment

with turmoil and "Sturm" in Heinse's itself hauntingly beautiful and mysterious verbless phrase:

Erstes Wehen der Schönheit aus dem Schooße der Nacht,  
des Unsichtbaren. (294)

The syntax of the sentence before the culminating phrase above finds Heinse feeling his way through the wide spectrum of harmony by making seven elements dependent on the verb "liegt":

Und so liegt denn bis in die feinsten, uns unbegreiflichen, unserm schärfsten Verstand entschwindenden Schwingungen der Luft selbständige Rege, Geist der Natur, wie im Größten; wie in Jahrtausende lebenden Alpengebürgen Werden, Seyn und Vergehen; nur das Augenblicklichste, Grundton, Quinte, Terz.<sup>22</sup> (293)

Und so liegt denn

1) bis in die feinsten, uns unbegreiflichen, unserm stärksten Verstand entschwindenden Schwingungen der Luft

2) wie im Größten    3) wie in Jahrtausende lebenden Alpengebürgen

4) nur das Augenblicklichste

5) selbständige Rege, Geist der Natur

6) Werden, Seyn und Vergehen;

7) Grundton, Quinte, Terz.

Elements 5), 6) and 7) form a continuous line of strength through the sentence, just like the trunk of the oak-tree, the "Stamm der Harmonie" they represent, with element 7) the root, or source, placed last. Elements 1) and 2); and 3) and 4) are juxtaposed in chiasmic order, the minutest to the largest, the most longeval to the

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22. Heinse's punctuation occasionally hinders rather than helps, as for instance here the semicolon after "Vergehen".

most momentary, thus establishing a harmonious balance within the structure of the sentence itself.

Near the end of his theoretical discourse on Beauty Heinse returns to his earlier theme of the inaccessibility of Greek art, since any art cannot but be in full accord only with the people among whom it is created. The Greek sculptures stand there in their wondrously strange beauty "wunderbar fremdschön", ("fremdschön" is a compound of Heinse's, an instance of the Heinsean gift of showing the *pliancy* of German), a testimony of mankind's youth, gone, never to return "so lange wir in dem Strome von ihrer Quelle fortlaufen". Sounding for a moment - untypically - like the epigone to whom Hölderlin was to give such poignant utterance,<sup>23</sup> he asks:

Und was sollen, was können wir anders thun, da es keine höhere Vollkommenheit, und höhere Schönheit geben kann, wie uns die Weisen sagen? (297)

One of the "Weisen" to whom Heinse refers is of course Winckelmann, whose solution to the problem had been known since 1755:

Der einzige Weg für uns, groß, ja, wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten. (KS, p.30)

It is this proposal Heinse is radically opposed to, seeing it as leading to no more than a disagreeable hotchpotch ("ein leidiges Flickwerk" (297)). With splendid *Sturm und Drang* boldness he projects one possible solution, namely the rejuvenation of Earth by cosmic intervention:

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23. For instance in 'Brot und Wein', where the dedicatee, Heinse, is addressed: "Aber Freund, wir kommen zu spät". *Das große deutsche Gedichtbuch*, p.346.

Ein leidiges Flickwerk, wobey nichts bessers geschehen könnte, als daß der große Komet käme, das alte Weib Erde mit sich forttriße<sup>24</sup> in eine neue Sonnenbahn, wo sie unterwegs verbrannt würde, und wieder neu aus ihrer Asche hervorgrünte und blühte, und wieder voll jugendlichen Getümmels wäre. (IX,297-298)

The noun "Getümmel" belongs to a category of "Sturm"-related terms for Heinse. "Getümmel der Welt" means the hurly-burly of existence; "voll jugendlichen Getümmels" (possibly connected with "sich tummeln" - to disport oneself) means: full of boisterous life. Both terms approach that tumultuous area of "höchstes Leben" which "Sturm" signifies. The high point for "Getümmel" is reached in the description of the battle of the Amazons: "ein mahlerisches Schlachtgetümmel", "ein fernes Getümmel der Flucht", and the pinnacle, "höchstes Leben in vollem Schlachtgetümmel unter furchtbarer Leuchte zerrissenen Morgenhimmels". (IX,345,345,349) "Getümmel" is about as far removed from Winckelmann's ideal of "stille Größe" as it is possible to be, and, according to Winckelmann, with its inherent sense of agitation entirely unsuitable for the presentation of Beauty:

Die Schönheit der Komposition besteht in der Weisheit, das ist, sie soll einer Versammlung von gesitteten und weisen Personen, *nicht von wilden und aufgebrachten Geistern*, gleichen. (KS,p.172; my italics)

At this point Heinse really begins to cross swords with Winckelmann:

Die Schönheit der Erscheinung der griechischen Vollkommenheit im Menschen ist allein Empfindung und Genuß für den Edlen. (298)

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24. "Mit sich fortreißen" has "Sturm" connotations, especially as it leads to the end-state "jugendliches Getümmel".

An "Edler" in Heinse's use of the word does not merely denote a man of noble spirit and character, who might therefore approximate to Winckelmann's idealism as postulated in "edle Einfalt", and in the derogation of "Sinnlichkeit" and "Lüsten" and "Wollust", which he connects with the unenlightened mind ("dem unerleuchteten Sinne") (KS,p.143). For Heinse on the contrary nobility of spirit and character is a key to the fullest, one might say "stormiest", enjoyment of the beauty of sensuous existence: "die Wuth und Ungestümm, vollen Zug nach Schönheit überhaupt".(298) The element of storminess emerges in the absence of placidity ("unruhiges Herz") which Heinse singles out, together with a lively imagination, as a rarely-found combination of qualities which makes an aesthetic experience possible for a very few human beings:

Nur wenig Menschen haben in ihrem Leben viel und mancherley Genuß, und nur die edelsten haben den der höheren Freuden. Und unter diesen beyden Klassen sind wieder nur wenige von soleberdiger Phantasie und unruhigem Herzen, daß sie den überaus feinen Augensinn in Gefühlsinn verwandeln, sich täuschen lassen, und wie von wirklicher Gegenwart ergriffen werden können. (IX,290)

"Höhere Freuden" does not mean (as it might for instance in Wieland's usage) joys of the spirit, "above" those of the "baser" senses, but rather, a more intense appreciation of sensuous enjoyment.



Nobility ("das edle") in Heinse's sense is therefore not a lofty separation from the concerns of the flesh, but something definitely bound to Earth:

O der Mensch kann groß seyn in jedem Zeitalter,  
und das edle in seiner Natur bleibt immer irgendwo  
noch auf Erdboden! (IV,382; RA,362)

Heinse rather infrequently speaks of a person as an "Edler", his preferred terms for the admirable and favoured few are rather, "Kernmenschen", "großer Mensch",<sup>25</sup> "der vollkommne Mensch", or, as in *Ardinghello* (IV,204; RA,194) "die Vortreflichen", "die hohen Gestalten", "seltne Erscheinungen", "diese hervorragenden Männer", "die ganz außerordentlichen Menschen". These last (nowadays called "Ausnahmemenschen") he sees as "alleredelste Gewächse"<sup>26</sup> - a term notable for its plant analogy, (as with the Edda oak), and "Herrlichkeiten der Natur".<sup>27</sup> They all have in common the capacity for *full*, i.e. intellectual and sensuous enjoyment of all their faculties. An erotic element

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25. Montenbruck (pp.11-16) discusses some of these terms, in particular "der große Mensch", which he rightly sees as taking over from the "Genie" concept during the Düsseldorf time. Montenbruck however is wrong, in my view, to suggest that "der große Mensch" is formed exclusively from Heinse's image of himself ("nach seinem eigenen Bild"), and that "der Individualist Heinse *sich und nur sich* bejaht" (my italics) because of his unquestioned tendency to belittle all "Nicht-große Menschen". Heinse "bejaht" all those whom he calls "groß" (like e.g. Rubens), and feels attuned to them.

26. Winckelmann uses "Gewächs" in the meaning of "height, stature": "Über die Wirklichkeit erhaben ist sein Gewächs, sein Stand . . . , und sein Gang . . . ." (KS,p.149)

27. By contrast Heinse amusingly castigates the poverty of his own time compared with the rich variety of gymnasts of the ancients: "Bey uns ist alle Gestalt in ein einzig doppelartig gabelförmig vollkommen Thier zusammengeschrumpft". (IV,205; RA,194-195)

is never entirely absent in this picture. Thus, he says, we call beautiful:

was wir lieben, was wir fassen können mit unserm  
engen Sinn, womit wir uns vereinigen, eins werden  
möchten. (IX, 294)

Heinse feels he has Plato on his side in this linking of Eros and Beauty, with its "unmittelbaren Pindarischen<sup>28</sup> Sturz und Stromgang der Gottheit". (298) By "Pindarischen Sturz" he is probably referring here to Pindar's abrupt changes of subject, in which he might be said to be changing direction like water in a waterfall (cf. *Rheinsturz* above). In this "Sturz" effect Heinse may be trying to depict the sudden rapturous "Erschrecken" of the soul remembering the celestial vision of absolute Beauty when confronted with god-like Beauty<sup>29</sup> on Earth, which Plato describes in his *Phaedrus*. In Heinse's words:

Nach Platons Erklärung ist die Schönheit die ursprüngliche Idee der Dinge in Gott. Und die Seelen, die sein Anschauen genoßen, und diese Ideen erkannten, schaudern, wenn sie in diesem Leben die Bilder davon mit den Augen erblicken, erinnern sich dunkel ihres vorigen Zustandes, erschrecken, und werden entzückt. . . . Es ist gewiß eine erhabne Hymne auf die Liebe, und liegt tiefe Wahrheit zu Grunde. (VIII, 2, 157; also IV, 187; RA, 178)

Those who deny this involvement of the senses in the definition of Beauty ("in diesem Leben ... mit den Augen ... werden entzückt") and who think it irrelevant, wicked or insubstantial ("lächerliche Ausschweifung", "etwas verderbliches, und nichts reelles") Heinse counts among the

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28. In his familiarity with Pindar (several lines from the second Olympic ode are incorporated into the text in *Ardinghello*) Heinse shows himself as a true member of his generation. See M.L.Baeumer's comment on the passage (IV, 23; RA, 23) on p. 459 of RA.

"Wintermänner".(298)<sup>30</sup> These are presumably persons without warmth who do not acknowledge the importance of sensual experience, as in "Wuth" and "Ungestümm". It may be no more than coincidence that "Wintermann" *sounds* rather like "Winckelmann"; but it is certainly a stab in his direction, as the "Zurück zur Natur!" plea proves, in strong implied protest against Winckelmann's teachings ("leeres Geschwätz"?), however masterly the articulation:

Lassen Sie uns auf die Natur zurückgehn, ohne welches alles in der Kunst leeres Geschwätz ist (was mich nie irre machen wird) und wenn es auch noch so meisterlich lautete.(298)<sup>31</sup>

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29. Such irresistible god-like earthly Beauty may be what Heinse has in mind with the term: "Stromgang der Gottheit". Under "Stromgang" DW lists only one abstract example, by Görres: "Alle müssen in den großen Stromgang hinein, der die Geister ergriffen hat". This, DW says, stands for "die Unwiderstehlichkeit einer geistigen Bewegung".

31. Winckelmann had advocated rising *above* Nature, and nearing a Platonic Form ("Urbild"), conceived only through the intellect:

Diese häufigen Gelegenheiten zur Beobachtung der Natur veranlaßten die griechischen Künstler noch weiter zu gehen: sie fingen an, sich gewisse allgemeine Begriffe von Schönheiten . . . der Körper zu bilden, die sich *über die Natur selbst* erheben sollten; ihr Urbild war eine *bloß im Verstande* entworfene geistige Natur. (KS,p.35)(My italics)

30. Under "Wintermann" DW lists a quotation by Maler Müller, (with whom Heinse was acquainted):

"Rauh und stöbrisch, Mädchen, ist der Wintermann."

The word sometimes describes an "in winterlichem Klima lebender Mensch", says DW further.

The most intriguing quotation, because it links the term "Wintermann" with an incomplete existence (as does Heinse's) comes from the *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* by Gervinus (1805-1871), (also from DW):

"Das Christenthum [schriebe] . . . uns Wintermännern unser häßliches unvollkommenes Dasein [vor]."

Yet, ten years after the *Gemähldebriefe* Ardinghello seems to be echoing Winckelmann:

Der Meister sucht sich unter den Menschen, die ihn umgeben, zu seiner Darstellung das beste Urbild<sup>32</sup> aus, und erhebt dessen individuellen Charakter mit seiner Kunst zum Ideal. (IV,204; RA,194)

This is no change of outlook. The emphasis here is on "Meister", on his superiority through a full understanding of his subject. Mere industrious application ("Fleiß") cannot achieve such mastery, which Heinse defines for his part in masterly language:

Die Regung in vollstimmiger Einheit durch den ganzen Körper des gegenwärtigen Augenblicks. (IV,203; RA,193)

This is perhaps Heinse's most sophisticated formulation of that complex "momentan Gefühl" (IV,193; RA,184) which imbues not only all great art, but which also profoundly informs Heinse's writing, the Gefühl für Schönheit. The everpresent Heinsean *life*-element ("Regung") is linked with the immediacy of the present moment, defined in the unity-in-diversity principle of musical harmony ("vollstimmige Einheit") and involving the *whole* ("durch den ganzen Körper").

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32. Under "Urbild" DW notes its use in the seventeenth century for "Archetypus", in the first third of the eighteenth century for "Original" (cf. Goethe's use in 'Metamorphose der Tiere'), then for "Ideal", "Idee", and then its absorption into common usage in various ways. DW lists Kant's use of "Urbild" for Plato's Forms: "Die Ideen sind bei ihm (Plato) Urbilder der Dinge selbst." Winckelmann (fn.30 on previous page) seems to be using "Urbild" here in this sense. "Urbild" may be used in the sense of "a typical representative", as e.g. DW quotes Herder: "Alcäus und Sappho ... können uns als Urbilder der Ode ... gelten". That seems to be Heinse's use above. Adelung's dictionary of 1811 puts up strong resistance to the word when too freely used: "Auf welchem Planeten mag Gellert wohl das Urbild zu seiner kranken Frau gefunden haben?"

Like Winckelmann, Heinse wants to see the intellect engaged in the creative work; but not exclusively so:

Man kann die Natur nicht abschreiben; sie muß empfunden werden, in den Verstand übergehen, und *von dem ganzen Menschen* wieder neu geboren werden. (IV, 203, RA, 193)  
(My italics)

The creative artist then has to be a Whole Man, "ein ganzer Mensch", involved through feeling and intellect in his subject.

Heinse cites Winckelmann as an example of "patriotic innocence" amongst all the "Kinder der Unschuld", meaning the geographically, climatically and historically imposed limitation by which real artistic appreciation is only possible for the art originating from one's own setting in time and space. Heinse sums up this conviction with the conciseness of an aphorism:

Jedes Ding ist nur da, wo es ist; und kann nur Leben nehmen von dem, was es um sich hat. (IX, 328-329)

For the first time the name of Rubens appears in Heinse's discourse, referring to the amazing fact that he made such "tiefen Eindruck in alles Herz" although none of his female figures can hold a candle to even the lowliest pretty girl in Rome. Heinse begins to explain this phenomenon with an apostrophe, a disarming direct address to his readers which captures their attention and makes it easy for them to grasp his very important point by their familiarity with the water/wine connotation which needs no special spelling out:

Lieben Leute, Wasser that's freylich nicht! (IX, 299)

In this way the highly uncommon quality of Rubens is highlighted by which he elicited the essence ("reine Erscheinung") from his subject (his wife, of whom he knew every mood, and every physical detail). This, Heinse claims, resorting to epistrophe for emphasis, had to be effective:

Mußte wirken, und noch wirken, und ewig wirken,  
so lang es währt; denn Leben allein wirkt in Leben.(299)

In other words, the immediate familiar living present provides the material for greatness in art, not, as Winckelmann "in seiner Schwärmerey"(300) would have it, the Greeks, whose "Bildsäulen" for Heinse are remote ("fremdschön") - and dead.

By associating "Schwärmerey" with Winckelmann Heinse reinforces the impression that he considers him to be lacking in that wholeness of insight which draws upon and does not lose touch with the "Erdboden" of the here and now. All this is by way of a prelude to the special accentuation which Rubens is about to receive as the possessor of that insight. "Scholiasten" and "Kunstrichter" are listed together with Winckelmann's "Schwärmerey" as examples of a flawed viewpoint; the first for denying in pedantic bookishness that the greatest artist is the one who can give life-like form to a people's nebulous aspirations; the second for sitting in god-like Last Judgement on art in high-handed, purely rational one-sidedness. By "sich aus ihrer [the nation's] Zone schwingen" and "sich aus der Welt hinausträumen" the critic reaches

the "Urformen"<sup>33</sup> der Schönheit, so wie sie der göttliche Verstand entworfen". (329-330) By thus paraphrasing the Platonic vision and interlinking it with Winckelmann's idealised view of "eine bloß im Verstande entworfene geistige Natur"(KS,35) Heinse demonstrates that what "Kunstrichter" in the footsteps of Winckelmann see as the ideal to strive for and to imitate, to *him* represents the height of folly for being out of touch with reality, in fact "Schwärmerey".

Recent works of art testify, Heinse claims, how far art has moved from its origins ("Ursprung"). By this he must mean Nature, real life, since he can find nothing but phantoms ("Gespenst"), presentation of saintliness ("heilige Erscheinung") or such a degree of transfiguration ("so verklärt") that there is little left "von unserm Fleisch und Blut".(330) Having thus summed up the to him deplorable state of contemporary art, Heinse launches - and this is still introductory to the figure of Rubens as *his* paradigm of an artist - into a lengthy condemnation of the way young painters are trained.<sup>34</sup> In doing so his opposition to Winckelmann is left in no doubt. At the same time he shows himself as a markedly individual stylist, capable of confidently handling words with brilliant variety. There is for instance at times a hymnic elevation of tone, also a marvellous plas-

33. "Urform" is more unusual than "Urbild". (Adelung of 1811 does not list it). DW lists Novalis's philosophical/Platonic usage: "Materie ist Urstoff, Materie ist Materie, Urform reine Form". Heinse appears to have used the word only this once, also in the sense of Plato's Theory of Forms.

34. Cf. Goethe's dissatisfaction with such learning in his aphorism, "In der wahren Kunst ..." (Hecker edn., No. 448, 4 ff.)

ticity of expression, helped by genuine inventiveness in the substantivation of verbs and adjectives, and that healthy Heinsean liveliness injected into the style itself by the carefree intermingling of the grandiloquent with common speech.

Heinse begins by arguing that in a work of art only that can be appreciated to which one can relate through one's own fund of experience. He therefore turns with exasperation to the methods by which aspiring young painters are being "broken in" ("zugeritten"), whereby after a few "Kritzeleyen" with only the "hölzernste Idee" of the human figure, straightaway an ancient head is tackled. Heinse's irritation is directed at the initiation of exactly that process which Winckelmann had advocated: a short-cut to artistic perfection by sidestepping the study of Nature and imitating the Ancients instead:

Das Studium der Natur muß also wenigstens ein längerer und mühsamerer Weg zur Kenntnis des vollkommenen Schönen sein, als es das Studium der Antiken ist. (KS,p.38)

and,

Unsere Natur wird nicht leicht einen so vollkommenen Körper zeugen, dergleichen der Antinous Admirandus hat, und die Idee wird sich, über die mehr als menschlichen Verhältnisse einer schönen Gottheit in dem Vatikanischen Apollo, nichts bilden können: was Natur, Geist und Kunst hervorzubringen vermögend gewesen, liegt hier vor Augen.

Ich glaube, ihre Nachahmung könnte lehren, *geschwinder klug* zu werden. (KS,38; my italics)

In Heinse's view, because of the as yet not fully developed personalities of the apprentice painters, this approach must bring the direst consequences ("größter Verderb"). Heinse drives home his point that such activity is senseless by employing several substantivized verbs. The repeated prefix "Ge-" lends just that air of vacuity such misguided



application of talent must result in:

das voreilige Gestör<sup>35</sup> [interference] an den Antiken,  
[worse even than]  
das Geleyer [singsong monotonous reciting] unsrer Buben  
auf Schulen über den nimmer satt  
gedollmetschten Horatius, und  
das Geperorire [reciting with emphasis] der ewigen  
Perioden des Markus Tullius Cicero. (330)  
das Gehudele [bungling work] an den Werken der Meister. (334)

The prefix "Ab-" occurs twice, indicating mere copying without creativity: "das Abconterfeyen"; "dieß voreilige, ich mag wohl sagen, sinnlose Abreißen der Antiken". (334) "Abschreiben" (IV, 203, RA, 193) also belongs to this group.

These youngsters, Heinse points out, still limited in their capacity for understanding, simply cannot grasp yet something as immense as for example the Roman spirit prevailing under Caesar and Brutus. He illustrates his point by means of a storm metaphor:

Römergeist, der wie Orkan gen Norden und Süden,  
und Osten und Westen, über Nationen schwebte. (330)

How, Heinse asks, can one of these immature young people - "kindliche Seelen", "ein Anfänger", "ein solcher Lehrling", "ein Kind an Geisteskräften", "so ein schwaches Ding" (330-333) - how can such a person possibly have an inkling of what there really is to be found in the great works of the Ancients? He asks this question no fewer than eight

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35. DW lists a Middle High German instance of "Gestör": "geschiht ein urhap oder ein gestöre von besezzenen (wohnhafte) luten". ("Gestör" can also be part of a raft.) Heinse is the only one quoted for "Gestör" above, demonstrating his inventiveness. In "Geperorire" the *Sturm und Drang* apocope of "Gestör" is not applied, leaving fittingly five dreary syllables "Ge-pe-ro-ri-re".

times, each time calling out "Wie ... ?" to Winckelmann in his "Schwärmerey". By means of this insistent repetition and by means of the enormous extent to which he stretches the possibilities of his sentence constructions (evolving each time from a "Wie?" which retreats at times, it seems, out of reach) he demonstrates the enormous extent of insight which meaningful involvement with ancient art needs. In other words: it is another example of Heinse's use of language to recreate in concrete form the concept under discussion. It sounds trite and hackneyed to speak of Heinse as using the writer's "Stoff", words,<sup>36</sup> the way a painter uses oils or a composer uses notes, (though the vivid colour and natural melodiousness of Heinse's writing gives new meaning to the tired similes). Certainly here is a master craftsman, a writer who, like a potter moulds and shapes the "clay" of words in the eight "Wie?" structures into a visible cumulative representation of the huge vat of ungrasped knowledge, an "Abbild" of it there in the massed print, with each new "Wie?" and all its continual extensions adding new depth and fullness to the shape, like the potter does to his vessel with each turn of the wheel:

- 1) Wie will sich ... ein Anfänger ... nur einige richtige Vorstellung machen von der Erscheinung des Apollo ...?
- 2) Wie kann er ... nicht wie Winckelmann den schönsten der Götter ihn ihm, nur die höchste jugendliche Schönheit in dem Jünglinge erkennen?

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36. Commonplace already in Heinse's day. (See his paragraph on "Stoff" ("Farben dem Mahler", Töne dem Virtuosen", "Worte dem Dichter", (IX, 288)). "Stoff ist immer da", Heinse states, although with mere "Fleiß und Mühe" and no originality there is no greatness, "wo nichts ist, wird nichts".

3) Wie will er in ihm fühlen  
den Augenblick des Siegs ... den Genuß edler Rache ....  
das Vertilgen deß, was ...; das Strenge des Gottes ....  
den verachtenden Blick ... Den Verstand, der überall  
hervorsonnt, dessen, der ..., in dem Gesichte, wo ...  
die ganze Frischheit der Jugend ...; die Leichtigkeit  
der Schenkel ...., die schwebende Stärke ...  
den reinen keuschen Fuß, der ... (331)

4) Wie will ein Kind an Geisteskräften  
am Apoll den Jüngling in sich sehen, unter dessen ...  
Den höchsten Ueberflug ... nachthun?

5) Wie kann es vor dem Sonnenkopf die Augen niederschlagen  
... erschrecken ... entzückt werden ...!

6) Wie kann ein solcher Lehrling fühlen im Laokoon...?

7) Wie so ein schwaches Ding im Herkules fühlen...?  
Oder im sterbenden Alexander ... den mörderlichen Zug  
des Schmerzens durch den, der ..., den Heros, in dessen  
versunkenen Löwenblick ... aus dem tiefen großen Auge,  
das unter der unerschrocknen Stirn, die ..., indeß ...?  
(332)

Oder nur im Solon den lautern scharfen Blick, die Richtig-  
keit des Verstandes, die Stärke der Ueberlegung: wie  
aus ihm ...., wie die ... Spannung der Muskeln ... den  
Gesetzgeber zeigt, den gewaltigen Redner, den Menschen,  
der seinesgleichen nicht wieder hatte ?

8) Wie wollte er nur das höchste Ideal der Schönheit  
in der Niobe erblicken, und den unbezwinglichen Muth,  
über den der Schmerz ...., dessen Ausmaß ...  
das Weib, das ... da steht... das zu athmen scheint:  
siegst! aber ... die Harmonie des Ausdrucks ... das  
Anhalten des Innern ... den gestämmten Nacken voll Erha-  
benheit und Majestät! Oder in ihrer schönsten Tochter  
ihre Tochter die Unschuld ... und das überirrdische  
ihres Wesens aus dem hellen Aug ....  
(333)

Among the stylistic elements making up this mammoth repudiation of Winckelmann the *Sturm und Drang* spirit is again evident in the bold questioning stance; also in the boldness with which the syntax is pushed beyond its capacity. The last paragraph on p.332 for instance and the first on p.333 start simply "Oder ... das Sterben"; "Oder ... den ... Blick"; i.e. with an accusative object. One has to hunt for subject, verb, and interrogative pronoun at the start of the previous paragraph, "Wie

so ein schwaches Ding fühlen". The auxiliary verb is to be found a further paragraph back still, "Wie kann ein solcher Lehrling fühlen". Heinse simply discards these vital syntactical units as he progresses along his gallery of great heroes. *They*, Hercules and Alexander, receive the full focus. Sentence construction, the message seems to be, pales into insignificance beside the projection of their splendour. The "Keim" image recurs, in tune with the *Sturm und Drang*'s emphasis on organic growth as a symbol of healthy balance:

Wie so ein schwaches Ding im Herkules fühlen die höchste Stärke, die menschliche Form hegen kann, zu ihrer Reife gediehen; wo nichts überladen, nichts hinzugethan, sondern alles aus einem Keim entsprossen ist. (322)

The above quotation illustrates another stylistic *Sturm und Drang* element: inversion. Langen<sup>37</sup> calls it one of the most important syntactical concerns of the *Geniezeit* in the battle for a breaking of restraints of the language ("Auflockerung") to replace the logical ordered syntactic arrangement of the *Aufklärung*'s stylistic ideal. Langen lists Klopstock, Hamann, and Herder as the main promoters of inversion. Blackall (p.288) also notes Breitinger in the context of a "pathetische, bewegliche oder hertzrührende Schreibart" which addresses the emotions, the old "grand" style of rhetoric. Blackall states that Breitinger sees the origin of poetic inversion in this "Sprache der Affecte", a point later taken up by Herder. (Klopstock's contention that the language of poetry must differ notably

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37. *Sprachgeschichte*, cols. 1091-1093

from that of prose does not apply in Heinse's case, to whom prose is not really a different category from poetry, but rather a freer possibility of poetic expression.)

Looking more closely at the "Wie?" sequence above, Heinse applies inversion very selectively. In 1) the verb "sich eine Vorstellung machen" is displaced only slightly from its normal final position in an interrogative sentence to accommodate and emphasize the importance of "Erscheinung des Apollo zu Belvedere". "Wie" 2): "Wie kann es ... niederschlagen?", 4); 5); and 8), all follow normal word order. But 3): "Wie will er in ihm fühlen"; 6): "Wie kann ein solcher Lehrling fühlen", and 7): "Wie so ein schwaches Ding fühlen", all have the all-important verb "fühlen" lifted into an early position to assure maximum attention for it as well as lending extra weight to the seemingly endless string of accusative objects with ornamentations which in their bulk signify the colossal mass of under-standing out of the young painters' reach.

In order to give form to the remoteness of this understanding Heinse employs a striking number of abstract nouns, frequently linked to a second (perhaps also abstract) noun by a genitive construction, so that they appear in double units as if firmly standing on their feet in their task of strengthening the impact:

Augenblick des Siegs; Genuß edler Rache; das Strenge Gottes; Frischheit der Jugend; Leichtigkeit der Schenkel; Ueberflug menschlichen Vermögens; Seufzen schwindender Stärke; Zug des Schmerzens; Richtigkeit des Verstandes; Stärke der Ueberlegung; Spannung der Muskeln; Harmonie des Ausdrucks; das Anhalten des Innern; das überirrdische ihres Wesens. (IX, 330-333)

The rhythmic flow of these constructions aids the impression of their relating to a sphere elevated beyond the ordinary:

das schmerzlichs <u>t</u> e Seuf <u>z</u> en		die <u>H</u> armon <u>i</u> e des <u>A</u> usdr <u>u</u> cks
die Fr <u>i</u> schheit der Jug <u>u</u> nd		das F <u>e</u> stgehalt <u>n</u> e <u>u</u> ber <u>a</u> ll
die schwebende St <u>a</u> rke		die Le <u>i</u> chtigke <u>i</u> t der Sch <u>e</u> nk <u>e</u> l
die Streng <u>e</u> des G <u>o</u> tt <u>e</u> s		das <u>A</u> nhalt <u>e</u> n des <u>I</u> nn <u>e</u> rn

Ironically, it is the influence of Winckelmann which can clearly be traced in what is intended by Heinse to show Winckelmann's folly. Referring to the Apollo in the Belvedere for instance, Heinse asks:

Wie kann es ein Kind an Geisteskräften vor dem Sonnenkopf die Augen niederschlagen, und wieder davor erschrecken, und davon entzückt werden, daß es nichts mehr von sich weiß, und seine Sinnen vergißt! (332)

The lowered eye in the presence of a god-like figure is to be found in Winckelmann's account of the beckoning concept of Beauty to which great Greek artists had given corporate form:

Ich aber schlug mein Auge nieder vor dieser Einbildung, wie diejenigen, denen der Höchste gegenwärtig erschienen war.<sup>38</sup>

To react by "erschrecken" at the sight of the Apollo statue likewise originates with Winckelmann, as "eine mit Bestürzung vermischte Verwunderung". (KS, p. 148) "Entzückt werden" is emphatically repeated by Heinse, just as the word "Entzückung" is repeated in Winckelmann's Apollo description ("in Entzückung gegen das, was die Natur übersteigt" (KS, 148); and "eine selige Entzückung hob mich" (KS, 149)). Ecstasy, (in Heinse, "daß es nichts mehr von sich weiß, und

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38. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Anmerkungen über die Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, Erster Theil, p. 34.

seine Sinnen vergißt") is equally present:

Eine mit Bestürzung vermischte Verwunderung wird dich außer dir setzen, . . . , ja das Körperliche wird dir geistig werden.(KS,148) Ich war in dem ersten Augenblicke gleichsam weggerückt.(KS,149)

The image of an expression "blossoming" in a face which Heinse applies to Apollo ("in dem Gesichte, wo die Gottheit wie eine Blume aufgegangen" (IX,332)) may have come from Winckelmann, who says of Ganymede's face: "es blüht so viel Wollust auf demselben" (GK,277). The term "verachtend" twice occurs in Heinse's Apollo reference:

Mit der verachtenden Größe und Stärke über alles, wozu er sich nicht hinneigt, . . . und den verachtenden Blick unter der Allmacht der hervorgehenden Stirn.(331)

This too may be traced back to Winckelmann, who says of Apollo, "Zorn schnaubt aus seiner Nase, und Verachtung wohnt auf seinen Lippen".(KS,150) Winckelmann here sounds surprisingly vehement in the bull?-like animal connotation to which the disdain is linked; he sounds like a *Stürmer und Dränger* here, whereas Heinse's formulation approximates more nearly the classical restraint and grandeur the superior being described deserves.

The analysis of Heinse's polemic against the imitation of Greek art has served to show with what skill he applies a wide range of expressive tools: how he is not afraid to mutilate syntax or to use inversion; how by - if he deems it necessary, eightfold - repetition he hammers home his point; how abstract nouns in double units fulfill a special purpose; how rhythmicality elevates his tone; and how borrowings from Winckelmann are then indirectly and subtly applied to work back against him by Heinse.

This may be an opportune moment - if only because it further illustrates the richness of Heinse's language - to draw attention to a stylistic peculiarity of Heinse's which is noticeable throughout his writing. It has already been mentioned briefly above that elements from homely, everyday life, observations of ordinary objects or events delivered in the down-to-earth tone of the common man rub shoulders in his style<sup>39</sup> with demanding abstracts with which he may grapple with the loftiest concepts, often in aphoristic brevity. A literal example occurs in Heinse's discussion of "Wesen" and "Stoff".(IX,288) He begins in the plainest tone: "Stoff ist immer da"; then, just for the length of one clause, levers up the style with seeming fussiness by the *Kanzleideutsch* word for "jeder": "jedweder", but really in order to demonstrate *by this style* that painstaking application is no substitute for creativity: "Jedweder kann sich einigen Besitz davon mit Fleiß und Mühe verschaffen". Creativity is an innate quality, Heinse states, now in the clear authoritative tone of his own conviction; balancing abstract nouns with verbs describing growth in real Nature:

Wesen, Geist, Idee, neue Erfindung: das muß  
gebohren werden, wachsen, blühen und reifen.(288)

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39. Clemens Brentano wrote to Achim von Arnim in 1806: "Sehr lieb ist es mir jetzt, daß ich Heinse gekannt habe .... Heinse ist mir eine der wunderbarsten poetischen Naturen, und bescheiden war er, er konnte mit Handwerkern zusammen sein". (ZZ,p.43) This ease in the company of manual workers while also possessing a marvellously poetic nature shines through in Heinse's style.



The four nouns form a climactic ladder with "Wesen" the starting point and "neue Erfindung", the new creation, the highest rung. Then the tone drops to that of a proverbial platitude ("wo nichts ist, wird nichts") reinforced, ("das ist ewig wahr"). Now comes the sophisticated thought, expressed in abstracts, of the vitalizing essential role of "Wesen" in relation to "Stoff":

Verschiedenes Wesen ist Rang der Natur; Antheil am Stoff, grösserer oder kleinerer, giebt keinen; empfängt ihn allein von dem Wesen, wodurch er lebendig wird.

Completing the thought Heinse suddenly performs what one might term a "Heinsean Sturz": from the lofty right down to the level of the lowly oxen, figuratively as well as literally: "Sonst würden hundert Alpenadler von einem pohnischen Ochsen gewogen." (288) Heinse's writing abounds with such references to the familiar world around, which is observed as it were at ground level. There was the "Maulwurfsecke" (288) he as young "Wildfang" could not be bothered with; there was "Mehltau und Wurmstich" (291) as a definition of ugliness. A garden bird ("Fliegenschnäpper") appears in a list of gradations of Beauty (291); a wine ("ächter Achtundvierziger wilder Rüdesheimer") marks the beauty which characterizes a particular nation and climate. "Diese Buben" he calls posterity one day sitting in judgement on his generation. The phrase, "Lieben Leute, Wasser thut's freylich nicht!" makes a subtle point with the cheerful directness of, say, a bright country lad. Then there is Heinse's use of the indefinite pronoun "einer", which does not really fit into an elevated style and belongs more to *Umgangssprache*. Yet, because of its conversa-

tional ring it brings him, Heinse, near to the reader, so that even two hundred years later one is strongly aware of his unaffected, lively presence. The *Sturm und Drang* fondness for apocope ("sollt'" and "eh'" in the following example) adds even more informality to the tone. In order to show how the "einer" sentence appears to be inserted to keep the reader's feet on the ground, counteracting the just possible threat of becoming too caught up in the (Winckelmann-inspired) ecstasy and overcharged emotionalism - "Schwärmerey" in fact - it must be read in full context:

Wie kann es vor dem Sonnenkopf die Augen niederschlagen,  
und wieder davor erschrecken, und davon entzückt  
werden, entzückt werden, daß es nichts mehr von sich  
weiß, und seine Sinnen vergißt!

Und so was sollt' einer zuvor doch wenigstens, eh'  
er nur ein Bein von ihm nachzuzeichnen sich gelüsten  
ließe, einmal, zweymal und dreymal.

Wie kann ein solcher Lehrling fühlen im Laokoon<sup>40</sup> das  
schmerzlichste Seufzen schwindender Stärke nach dem heftigsten  
Entsetzen . . .?(332)

Heinse's occasional preference for "einer" over "man" may be connected with the greater weight of impact achievable by its two syllables; the more incisive sound of "ei" over "a" may even play a part. "Einer" may well also have appealed to a *Sturm-und-Drang* mind like Heinse's for its individualistic emphasis in spite of the vagueness of meaning, as if, whoever he, the "einer" may be, he is still some-One:

Jedoch, wenn einer sie [die Schönheit der Erscheinung  
der griechischen Vollkommenheit im Menschen] auch

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40. For Heinse's description of Laocoön in *Ardinghello* see IV, 246-253; RA, 236-242, also RA, 506-508; 413-414.

aus sich hervorzuschaffen<sup>41</sup> vermöchte; wer weiß, ob er die Wunder der griechischen Künstler damit verrichten würde. (IX, 298)

The colloquial "nimmer" instead of "nie" should also be mentioned here, "Zwar muß ich gestehen, daß die Kunst der Natur im Natürlichen nimmer gleich kommen kann." (336) A striking inclusion in Heinse's vocabulary is also the word "Hintern". Not for him the decorous evasion of this part of the anatomy;<sup>42</sup> it comes as naturally to him as "Kopf" or "Bein" for illustrating that there is nothing piecemeal in Nature, a fact the "virtuosi" ought to note,

Die Natur bringt nichts geflicktes hervor; und demnach darf es auch die Kunst nicht. Der Kopf des Apollo würde auf dem Rumpfe des Antinous Prahlerey seyn, und an der Diana die eingezogenen Schenkel der Mediceischen Venus Nothzüchtigung. Und was kann anders herauskommen, wenn die Virtuosen da ein Bein abmahlen, dort einen Kopf, und hier einen Hintern? (336)

Heinse is skating somewhat near the edge of vulgarity in the passage above. At least "nichts geflicktes" sounds homely, "Prahlerey" sounds blunt, and "eingezogene Schenkel, Nothzüchtigung", and "Hintern", are suspect terms in polite discourse. This is not necessarily a stylistic defect, however. In the treatise attributed to Longinus, *On the Sublime*, the view is put forward that expressions

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41. The verb "aus sich hervorschaffen" then denotes the artist's creative ability to bring forth (to give birth to) something, from his innate quality. This verb provides the contrast to the creatively uninvolved busy-ness, the "Mühe und Fleiß" attack on "Stoff" above of "sich etwas verschaffen", as exemplified by Faust's factotum, Wagner: "Tut nicht ein braver Mann genug, / Die Kunst, die man ihm übertrug, / Gewissenhaft und pünktlich auszuüben?" (*Faust I*, Vor dem Tor, 1057-1059)

42. For Winckelmann it seems to be non-existent, at least there seems to be only one reference, politely "Gesäß", referring to the Belvedere Torso. (GK, p. 395)

"on the very edge of vulgarity" may be saved from actually being vulgar by their expressiveness. Furthermore, the homely term is upheld as being "sometimes more expressive than elegant diction, for being taken from everyday life, it is at once recognised, and carries the more conviction from its familiarity".<sup>43</sup> This is entirely true of Heinse's style, except that it accounts for only part of it. What really characterises Heinse's style is the liveliness imparted by the constant and significant variation of styles, in which side by side with such homely terms appear the "appropriate and high-sounding words" so important in the view ascribed to Longinus for moving and enchanting an audience:

[They impart] to style, as though to the finest statues, at once grandeur, beauty, mellowness, weight, force, power, and any other worthy quality you can think of, and endow the facts as it were with a living voice.<sup>44</sup>

There is nothing remarkable in the fact as such that Heinse obeys the rule many writers have followed of admixing their grandiloquence with other stylistic elements to prevent the desired highflown tone from becoming merely tedious and pompous. Yet there is something particularly convincing about the homely elements which enliven Heinse's style, as if his feet are planted on *terra firma* with more than merely rhetorical confidence.<sup>45</sup> His childhood and youth in rural Thuringia (even in 1900 his birthplace Langewiesen had only three thousand inhabitants) must have brought

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43. Aristotle, Horace, Longinus, *Classical Literary Criticism*, p.140.      44. Ibid. p.139

45. E. Ermatiger (*Deutsche Dichter*, p.257) fails to understand that Heinse's "mächtige Bildungsschicht" does not mean that he is "von der Erde geschieden".

the simple life in village, field and forest truly close to him,<sup>46</sup> as also the outspokenness of the countryman, to whom a "Hintern" is - naturally - a "Hintern".

At the same time Heinse is of a quite remarkable sensitivity pertaining to all matters aesthetic; and this adds the span and the depth to his observations. As has been shown he sounds *genuinely* horrified at the ill-advised "Gehudele" being perpetrated by the raw recruits in the field of painting under Winckelmann's banner. The word "Gehudele", from the linguistic bottom drawer, is just right to convey the menial stupidity of the action and is chosen with full regard to the fact that the subject is the grand one of Beauty in Art.

The impact of this important stylistic characteristic of Heinse's can perhaps best be illustrated by a parallel drawn from an architectural effect, namely the anti-classical style of Giulio Romano's *Palazzo del Te* in Mantua. The building features in a talk on Mannerism by Ernst Gombrich.<sup>47</sup> In it he remembers the term "Mannerism" from the 1920s' rethinking as "connected with the revolutionary movement in twentieth century art, which questioned the universal validity of a classical tradition". This is a formulation which could equally well be applied to the eighteenth century and the *Sturm und Drang* movement.

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46. This shows in the description of a carved sow with offspring in Italy: "Eine Sau mit einem Dutzend Jungen. Man sieht den Speck und hört das Grunzen, und meynt die kleinen Ferckelchen unter ihr quixen zu hören, die sich eins nach dem andern beydrängen". (VIII,1,317)

47. H.E.Gombrich's talk is one of a series of the Open University's programmes on *Renaissance in Italy*, and is repeated from time to time on BBC Radio 3.

Gombrich states:

Mannerism had previously been decried as a deplorable decline from the standards of High Renaissance painting. Could it not also be seen as a revolt against these standards, an anti-classical movement which challenged the ideals of poise and harmony of the previous generation?

Gombrich relates that unorthodox features were incorporated in the walls of the *Palazzo del Te*, so-called *rustica*, for instance the interspersing of rough, unfinished stones with the carefully carved smooth ones making up the façade. In this way Giulio Romano was deliberately defying what had become the rules of classical restraint and orderliness; in the same way Heinse might be said to be defying the rules derived from Cicero's classical categories of style.<sup>48</sup> A rough linguistic "stone" like the word "Hintern" certainly breaks up the lofty classical - and also potentially monotonous - "poise and harmony" façade of the "high" style of learned discourse.

The effect of Giulio's work was much admired by his contemporaries, as had been attested by Sebastiano Serlio<sup>49</sup> in his *Treatise on Architecture* of 1537, (from which Gombrich quotes) for showing partly the work of Nature and partly that of the craftsman's art; for its expressive power; and for demonstrating in itself great strength. Heinse's way of Nature (in the homely terms) and Art (in the grand style with its classical rhythmic intonation) in balanced

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48. R.A. Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*, p.114

49. Heinse mentions Serlio in the early draft of *Ardinghello*, excerpts of which were printed in H.C.Boie's journal *Deutsches Museum* in 1785. See RA,445.

co-existence in his style exhibits those same qualities of expressive power and has "in itself great strength". At the same time, the term "Mannerism" is *not* applicable to Heinse. The essential ingredient for that, as seen in Giulio, is significantly entirely lacking in his case, namely: the quality of urbanity, of dallying with the (aesthetic) subject. On the contrary, (as has already been shown in the case of Wieland's "Witz" subjecting the beautiful classical figure of Diana to a degrading "Scherz", to Heinse's strong disapproval, and similarly in the case of Wieland's tampering with the classical beauty of Ariosto's *ottave rime*) Heinse's aesthetic standard adheres at all times to the "hohe Schönheit" of the classical model: here he is at one with Winckelmann. In his own description of the *Palazzo del Te* (IX, 241-254) there is therefore much he praises: "Alles sprudelt von Leben und Feuer" (245), but the "Spielerey mit den *alla rustica* gehauenen Marmorsäulen" he dismisses as no more than "jugendliche Posse" compared with the severe classical beauty of the Doric pillars ("die schönen Granitsäulen in severer dorischer Ordnung"; 244). Heinse's aesthetic stance then is uncompromisingly classical, while at the same time his style is as entertaining in its variety, and often as startling in its inventiveness as Giulio's rusticated walls.

Heinse's frequent reference to the natural world as experienced by all five senses is worth noting for yet another reason, namely, as his repeated unwavering assertion of the important influence on human happiness of the positive sensuous experience of Beauty, a notion

clearly opposed to the idealism of Winckelmann. Thus Heinse, after setting down in his Italian notebook: "Jeder Sinn hat seine besondere Schönheit", (meaning "that which most appeals to it"), then continues:

Unsere äußeren Sinne sind keine Kleinigkeit; wenn sie Genuß haben, wird auch das innere heiter und glücklich. Wohlgeruch, erquickender Geschmack, Bäder, Gefühl von lebendiger jugendlicher Bewegung ist Schönheit, Harmonie und Melodie für Nase, Zunge und Takt. Und so ergießen sich alle Freuden des Himmels und der Erden in unser Herz, den kleinen ewigen unsterblichen Gott. (VIII,1,525)

The outer senses then, the antennae reaching out to the real world around, absorb the beauty of Nature in its specific manifestations, as each sense can respond to it. This includes "Takt", (according to DW "die Berührung, der thätige Gefühls- und Tastsinn"), but surely also referring to something like the innate faculty for sensing the rhythm of life, the "beat" of the "Gefühl von lebendiger jugendlicher Bewegung". It adds its share to the multiplicity of joyous aesthetic experience which - this seems to be the implication of the last five words - pouring into the heart convince it of its god-like immortality.

Heinse goes as far as rejecting an ideal aesthetic Form altogether, a concept which had to be an intrinsically impossible conjecture for the sensuous realist<sup>50</sup> Heinse.

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50. The terms "naturalism" or "realism" or even, as R. Terras has it, "extremer Naturalismus" and "potenzierter Realismus" (Terras, pp. 37, 42) must be applied with caution in connection with Heinse, as M. Dick argues persuasively (Dick, p. 253): "Die von Heinse immer wieder betonte Naturnachahmung zum Zwecke der Täuschung muß noch kein 'Kopieren der stofflichen Wirklichkeit' sein. [A reference to Terras, 42] "Sie kann durchaus auch die Idealisierung und Verschönerung der Natur einschließen". This accommodates an idealising strand in Heinse.



Aphoristically concise he confronts Winckelmann and his proposal of purely intellectually conceived idealised Beauty above "mere" Natur ("bloße Natur"):

Jede Form ist lebendig, und es giebt eigentlich keine abstrakte. (IX,336)

How serious a conviction is being voiced here may be judged by the fact that the statement reappears, almost verbatim (with elaboration) in the discussion of aesthetics as Ardinghello's opening remark:

Allein, ihr Lieben, jede Form ist individuell, und es gibt keine abstrakte; eine bloß<sup>51</sup> ideale Menschen-gestalt läßt sich weder von Mann noch Weib, und Kind und Greis denken. . . . Ein abstraktes bloß voll-kommnes Weib, das von keinem Klima, keiner Volkssitte etwas an sich hätte, ist und bleibt meiner Meinung nach ein Hirngespens, ärger als die abenteuerlichste Romanheldin, die doch wenigstens irgendeine Sprache reden muß deren Worte man versteht. (IV,10;RA,12)

Heinse does here use the word "erheben"<sup>52</sup> (as does Winckelmann: "über die Natur erheben" (KS,p.35)), and so admits to the possibility of a higher level of artistic representation than that of pure naturalism, as M.Dick has noted. It may be achieved through the magic of applied imagination, linked with the intellect:

Die Phantasie kann nicht eher ins Herz regnen, als bis der Verstand aus Herz und Sinn Wolken gezogen hat. (IX,334)

This is closer to Winckelmann. Heinse, however, also supplies Ardinghello with lines which reiterate the disgust expressed in the *Gemähldebriefe* at the results of Winckelmann's teachings. "Armseelige Schel-me" (a robust term denoting conceited incompetents) produce

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51. The use of "bloß" is telling: Heinse with "ideal" and "vollkommen"; Winckelmann with "Natur".

52. "Eine junge Aspasia, Phryne, läßt sich bis zur Liebes-göttin oder Pallas erheben". (IV,10;RA,12)

faces and figures of unbearable vacuity in their copying of plaster casts; and to crown it all:

wollen mit Verachtung auf die Kernmenschen herunter schauen, die die Schönheiten, welche in ihrem Jahrhundert aufblühten, mit lebendigen Herzen in sich erbeutet haben. (IV,11; RA,12)

In this way the two camps are clearly established: the self-opinionated copyists in the one, the "Kernmenschen" in the other. In the hands of the first, the figures of Greek art have been turned into a band of travelling players with whom they roam the world. To bring out the degrading cheapness of this random, fragmented role-casting, Heinse uses the common "machen" for "to playact":

Die Antiken sind eine Bande Komödianten, mit denen sie dann in der Welt herumstreichen, und denselben die Kleider anziehen, nach den Rollen, die sie spielen sollen. Zeus macht Gott den Vater, Apollo den Sohn, Niobe oder ihre Töchter die Mutter . . . und Laokoon irgendeinen Propheten. (IX,335)

For the real "Kenner" of Nature and Art such treatment is abominable ("ein Greuel"), it is uninvolved and lifeless, "da kann nichts lebendiges, nichts gefühltes seyn"(335). The alternative approach to Art is bound up with Heinse's concept of the "Kernmensch", whose epitome, Rubens, is now about to receive full attention. The "Kernmensch" may be seen as an expansion of the "Genie" with whom he shares special gifts from benevolent Nature. The "Kernmensch", however, has the added natural ability ("Naturgabe") to absorb through all his senses from the time and place in which he finds himself all encounters with Beauty to which his creative spirit responds, (Heinse calls it "das Mahlerische" in connection with

Rubens). M.Dick is right to warn against seeing Heinse without qualification as promoting realism and naturalism, since the "Naturgabe" is specified by Heinse as:

das Mahlerische in einer Begebenheit, an Ort und Stelle, in einer Gegend zu fassen, oder hineinzudichten. (344)

It is not the idealisation of the object of artistic attention as such which Heinse rejects but the dead-end futility built into any attempt at mere imitation of classical art by "Zirkel, Lineal" und "Nachäfferey"(344). That cannot be the way towards creating, as Rubens did, "ein neues lebendiges Ganzes", a work whose beauty stems from its inner organic unity, "aus Art und Charakter, so wie jeder Baum aus seinem Keim wächst"(336). Such a work springs directly from the capacity of its creator, the "Kernmensch",<sup>53</sup> to feel from within himself all that he produces out of an abundance of experience and insight ("eine übervermögende Seele"(361)). In that way there is enjoyment and a replenishment of the spirit for the beholder, Heinse asserts; and he seems to be directing the following challenging question at Winckelmann directly:

Was sollen uns all die klaßischen Figuren,  
die keinen Genuß geben? (344)

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53. The word "Kernmensch" appears to be a Heinsean word creation, and to remain restricted to Heinse's use. DW lists only one occurrence in Arndt [E.M.?, 1769-1860], and its occasional neuter use in "derber Sprache". M.L.Baeumer, discussing "die typische Sturm und Drang-Bezeichnung Kernmensch" (*Das Dionysische*, p.58) cautions against the interpretation of the term as "das wichtige, die Erfassung der Renaissance bedingende Ergebnis von Heineses Italienaufenthalt" made by W.Rehm, (*Das Werden des Renaissancebildes in der deutschen Dichtung*, p.66) The term occurs only three times between 1781 and 1785 before *Ardinghello* and is only part of Heinse's "Lebensauffassung" evolved by 1796 from Aristotle's *Megalopsychos*.

Addressing his own proclaimed source of artistic creation, he ends with a vow of allegiance of almost religious fervour, aiding the hymnic tone by inversion, and also by the archaic "e" in "hervorbringest".<sup>54</sup>

O heilige Natur, die du alle deine Werke hervorbringest in Liebe, Feuer und Leben, und nicht mit Zirkel, Lineal, Nachäfferey, dir allein will ich ewig huldigen! (344)

Heinse projects his champion against Winckelmann by way of a biographical introduction (IX,338-340). The format for this is most unusual and highly effective.<sup>55</sup> It is that of a tale simply told, a yarn almost, concerning "a man", unnamed until the very last word in the very last sentence: "Und dieser Mann heißt Rubens". It begins in fairy-tale fashion: "Es war einmal ein Mann, welcher . . ."; and continues in the tradition, the next two sentences starting with "und": "Und als er . . ."; "und er ward gebohren . . .". The antiquated "ward" sustains the impression that this is "eine alte Mär". "Und" at the beginning of a sentence helps to build up and prolong tension; "so" recapitulates and prepares for the next "und": "So gewann er denn alles, was . . ., und . . ., und . . .". After "So trieb er . . ." both "und" and subject are omitted from the next two sentences in ellipsis, tightening up the narrative

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54. This "e" features throughout in Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst*, probably modelled on the Bible, employed to attain a "high" tone.

55. H.Hettner, (*Geschichte der deutsche Literatur*, vol.3,p.263) is full of praise for Heinse's "unvergleichliche Charakteristik von Rubens".

and placing weight on the activities: "So trieb er da Wirtschaft sieben Jahre lang. Machte . . . Bekannt- und Freundschaft . . . . Gab selbst Stunden und las Collegia, und dichtete und reißte . . . nach Hause." Apocope occurs throughout, appropriate for the "Volkstümlichkeit" of the tone: "wurd, kannt, Sonn, Lieb, Knab, Schul'". He interpolates an artless ungrammatical question: "Auf was Art und Weise?", and after the three-word answer places the ejaculation "Ach!" to evoke the listener's sympathy. In a construction like, "er studierte wieder die Werke des Tizian und *seiner Vorfahren ihre*" (my italics), instead of "und die seiner Vorfahren", he deliberately drops to the level of the "Volksmund". The reason for all this elaborate simplicity must be to present Rubens in the native unadulterated strength of a folk hero. The German word "Urwüchsigkeit" well describes the aura which Heinse is trying to evoke. The facets which contribute to his personality, however, are depicted in language of a richness which matches their splendour. Thus the simple statement: "Es war einmal ein Mann" is amplified by a highly complex relative clause describing his earliest moments of existence:

welcher unter den glücklichsten Einflüssen von  
Sonn und Mond und Wind und Wetter aus dem Chaos  
in's Daseyn den wundervollen und unbegreiflichen  
Sprung gethan.

Typically for Heinse's style, "Sonn und Mond . . ." in nursery rhyme naivety jostle with references demanding an educated reader, here one conversant with classical cosmogony. In the next sentence the cosmogonical element

"Nacht" is anthropomorphized,<sup>56</sup> and closely (one might say "caringly") relates to the "ihn" next to her in the heart of the sentence, ringed by "frisch und rein", "hegen und pflegen", "lieb, gut", reassuring in their positive dual strength. The verb "da seyn" denotes real existence more than the previous abstract noun "Daseyn", thus subtly underlining the evolution taking place. The phrase "in frischer und reiner Kraft" shows Heinse at his "schön-und-einfach" expressive best. It is more than the "Volksmund" phrases "hegen und pflegen" or "lieb [und] gut". It fits into that group of terms by which Heinse describes outstanding human beings. The emphasis on strength in freshness and purity links up with the "Kern" and "Keim" images in this context, all denoting innate untampered-with organic strength, nurtured by its natural circumstance. This in turn, as the Rubens tale demonstrates, consists of several parts, beginning with good fortune ("glücklichsten Einflüssen"). Next comes sensuous perception developing from an early age. For this Heinse uses the natural term for "enlightenment", "Tag werden":

Ueberall herum wurd es nun nach und nach  
seinen Sinnen Tag.

The consequent enrichment of character springs directly - a true Heinsean touch this - from an attachment to all that is good in life by taking possession of it ("macht es sich sein eigen") with the ardour of a lover ("mit so viel Lieb und Wärme, als ob es Braut und Bräutigam

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56. As also in Eduard Mörike's poem: 'Um Mitternacht'.  
*Großes deutsches Gedichtbuch*, p.461.

wäre"). The resulting abundant inner wealth demands utterance, and, as if preparing the reader for the fact that words are an inadequate medium for this task, Heinse makes the statement in impoverished-sounding sparsity. Yet with what eloquence Heinse then elaborates the point:

Auf was Art und Weise?

Nicht mit Worten. Ach! diese schienen ihm so lediglich von der Oberfläche abgegriffen und abgehört, so bloß zum Handel und Wandel erdichtet und eingerichtet, so allgemein, so verbraucht, so verstümpert, und schon so von alten Zeiten her, daß die meisten sie auswendig gelernt, als ein todes Kapital, und selten einer mehr weiß, woher er sie hat. Er fühlte dabey seine herrlichsten Früchte so oft als leere Hülzen in den Mund genommen, und so das hundertste für das tausendste, daß ihm alle Lust zu diesem Mittel verging.

The theme of the limitation of words, with which Heinse had already concerned himself at the beginning of the *Gemähldebriefe*, here, in spite of the lamenting "Ach!", receives an unsentimental assessment. The effect of the repetitive superficiality with which words are treated is brought out in the assonance of "abgegriffen und abgehört". The inner rhyme of "zum Handel und Wandel/ erdichtet und eingerichtet" produces a four-square structure, not unlike a solid merchant's house, and each of the two halves has a pendulum-like beat like the regulated business of commercial exchange, with words functioning as just another commodity. The unprofitability ("todtes Kapital") of words used without thought, parrot-fashion, is - by the use of the colloquial "einer" - brought down to the level of the simple ordinary man, perplexed in the general process of wear and tear and incompetent usage to which words are subjected. The

anaphoric use of "so", which is repeated eight times, leads, beyond the normal classifying role of "so", to great cohesion within the structure of the passage, with "Ach!" acting as the anchor-point of each successive "so". Vivid contrasting imagery ("herrlichste Früchte/leere Hülsen") shows up the frustrating emptiness of words when incapable of matching up to the richness of perception.

Heinse sums up the momentous kind of language to which Rubens turned in one powerful statement:

Er lernte die Sprache von Tag und Nacht, Kolorit und Licht und Schatten; die Linien des Lebens kannt er schon. Und dann Ferne und Ideal.

"Ideal" then is included in this list, in the important final position, confirming that Heinse does not advocate just slavish copying, although he has defined immediately before the ability of the artist "jedes Ding durch eine zaubrische Täuschung so eigen wie möglich wieder zu geben". Heinse's meaning of "Ideal" which has been shown above to consist of "das Mahlerische hineindichten" - signifying perhaps that element which gives the magical quality to the illusion produced by a work of art ("zaubrische Täuschung") - comes close to Winckelmann's ideal<sup>57</sup> of "höchste mögliche Schönheit; especially as

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<sup>57</sup> In his *Anmerkungen* (p.35) Winckelmann gives his definition of the concept of ideal Beauty, about which, he says, there is some confusion, namely: "Man könnte glauben, daß wenn vom Ideal die Rede ist, dasselbe ein bloß Metaphysischer Begriff sey, welcher in allen dessen Theilen der menschlichen Figur besonders [that means "separately"] statt finde, und nur allein im Verstande könne gebildet werden. Das Ideal ist bloß zu verstehen von der höchsten möglichen Schönheit einer ganzen Figur, welche schwer in der Natur in eben dem hohen Grade seyn kann, in welchem einige Statuen erscheinen, und es ist irrig das Ideal auf einzelne Theile deuten zu wollen, wenn von der schönen Jugend die Rede ist".



this is linked to a rejection of a piecemeal representation, which Heinse shares, though in Heinse's case *its* underlying principle is that of organic unity. And, as the quotation from his late *Anmerkungen über die Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* of 1767 above shows, Winckelmann seems to be conceding a greater involvement of the senses (and therefore shows an approximation to Heinse's stance) when he speaks of misapprehension ("Mißverstand"; p.35) in connection with "Ideal", as being "ein blos Metaphysischer Begriff" and possible "nur allein im Verstande". In the early *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Baukunst* of 1755 he had indeed stated:

Die Kenner und Nachahmer der griechischen Werke finden in ihren Meisterstücken nicht allein die schönste Natur, sondern noch mehr als Natur, das ist gewisse idealische Schönheiten derselben, die, wie uns ein alter Ausleger des Plato lehrt, von Bildern, *bloß im Verstande entworfen*, gemacht sind. (KS,31; my italics).

Clearly then the dividing line between Heinse and Winckelmann is faint at times, and Heinse's allegation of "Schwärmerey", meaning a kind of Platonic disembodiment of the concept of Beauty to a purely intellectual absolute, represents Winckelmann's outlook as narrower than the *Anmerkungen* prove it to be. Heinse for his part is not the mere materialist R.Terras (p.38) finds him to be, witness the inclusion of the one word, "Ideal".

When Rahel discussed Heinse's tale of Rubens with Varnhagen von Ense in 1808 she wrote:

Weißt Du noch? wo nicht, lies es nach, was er über Rubens sagt, besonders, wie er so lange von ihm spricht, ohne ihn zu nennen, anfangend: "Es war einmal ein Mann". Ein Meistergeschichtchen! Goethe, glaubte ich, nur könne so etwas. (ZZ, p.47)

It is a masterly short tale in the way it combines the plainness and warm strength of folk language with sophisticated formulation, as fresh and vigorous in effect as the "Lied voll Saft und Kraft" Rubens is described as having composed "unterweilen" before returning home triumphant in true folk hero fashion "mit einem ganzen Beutel voll Gold und vielen Kostbarkeiten oben drein" (339), all of his "Kernmensch" strength still intact, "so lieb und gut [a link here with the "lieb" and "gut" of his earliest experience] und allem so treu, und mit so vielen Gaben des Geistes ausgerüstet"; thus becoming the idol of his people. Heinse's concluding sentence could well be applied to his own achievement concerning this tale:

Er redte die unmittelbare Sprache seiner Natur so meisterlich und mit dem Verständniß, womit Homer und Aristophan die ihrige sprachen.

The Rubens tale introduces the linguistically most stunning part of the *Gemähldebriefe*: the description of Rubens paintings. For them alone Heinse deserves honourable recognition within German literary history.<sup>58</sup> However, the letter making up the first part of the *Gemähldebriefe* (IX, 301-323) in which six Madonnas, a St. John, and a Suzanna are described, is by way of an overture to the great Rubens opus. It is worth stylistic inspection in its own right, as it demonstrates for the first time what a wide-ranging, sensitive, vibrant, flexible instrument

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58. R. Terras (p. 20) sums up the general consensus concerning the *Gemähldebriefe* as, beside *Ardinghello*, the work which gives Heinse his place in German literary history.

the German language thus fully tested can be when handled in such masterly fashion as Heinse is capable of doing.<sup>59</sup>

No belittlement of the great achievement of Winckelmann in this field is intended here: his descriptions of the Torso and the Apollo in the Belvedere (KS,143-151) had broken new ground in an expressiveness which aims to transport the reader into a state of rapturous sublimity to match that evoked in himself by these greatest of ancient works of art. In the Apollo description for instance he writes:

Mit Verehrung erfüllt, schien sich meine Brust zu erweitern und aufzuschwellen, ich nahm durch die mächtige Rührung, die mich über mich selbst hinaussetzte, einen erhabenen Standpunkt an, um mit Würdigkeit anzuschauen; eine selige Entzückung hob mich mit sanften Schwingen, dergleichen die Dichter der unsterblichen Seele geben, und leicht durch dieselben suchte ich mich bis zum Thron der höchsten Schönheit zu schwingen. Keine menschliche Schönheit vermag dieses zu wirken. (KS,149)

The tone is one of adulation, maintained on a high plane, in keeping with the "erhabenen Standpunkt". Interpolations such as "Behold!" ("Seht! Wie ..." KS,149) arrest and lift the inner eye of the beholder, while the bewailing *exuscitatio* "O, möchte ich . . . So bejammre ich", (KS,147) engages the reader's sympathy. By the simple opening "Ich führe dich jetzt" the reader feels himself taken by the hand as if by a good friend, to be brought up short by the feigned despair at the difficulty of the task, "Wie aber werde ich dir denselben [the Torso]

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59. This exciting new development of 1776/1777 may lie just outside the scope of E.A.Blackall's *The Emergence of German as a Literary Language, 1770-1775*. In any case Blackall seems unacquainted with Heinse, as there is no mention of his achievement of 1774, or for the first time successfully fitting German to the verseform of Ariosto's *ottave rime*, in the *Stanzen*.

beschreiben . . .!"(KS,144) By a tree metaphor, likening the statue to a splendid oak cut down and denuded of its branches, Winckelmann advances into his description of the statue as into a landscape of majestic grandeur. Little though there remains of the shoulders of the Torso for example, "das Wenige" yet evokes the thought in him "daß auf ihrer ausgebreiteten Stärke, wie auf zwey Gebirgen, die ganze Last der himmlischen Kreise geruht hat". The landscape allusion is further strengthened when the undulating contours of muscle and bone are described as "eine von der Höhe der Berge entdeckte Landschaft, über welche die Natur den mannigfaltigen Reichtum ihrer Schönheiten ausgegossen"(KS,146). Winckelmann continues:

So wie die lustigen Höhen derselben sich mit einem sanften Abhange in gesenkte Täler verlieren, die hier sich schmälern und dort erweitern: so mannigfaltig, prächtig und schön erheben sich hier schwellende Hügel von Muskeln, um welche sich oft unmerkliche Tiefen, gleich dem Strome des Mäanders, krümmen, die weniger dem Gesichte, als dem Gefühle, offenbar werden.

In spite of a hint of the fussiness of the *Kanzleistil* which is never quite absent when "derselbe" replaces the simpler possessive pronoun, the *Verschachtelung* here actually aids the intended impression of the diversity of the "landscape" of muscles. Their play and counterplay ("Wirkung und Gegenwirkung") Winckelmann perceives as being held in marvellous balance ("wunderwürdig abgewogen"),<sup>60</sup> so that the beholding glance is drawn in,

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60. Blackall (p.373) rightly picks out the word "abgewogen" as "the very word to describe Winckelmann's language". After speaking of the "melodiousness and measuredness" of the prose, the "felicitous placing of well-sounding words" and other details, Blackall sums up: "Never is

"swallowed up", as if by the swelling and subsiding waves of the sea:

So wie in einer anhebenden Bewegung des Meeres die zuvor stille Fläche in einer nebligen Unruhe mit spielenden Wellen anwächst, wo eine von der anderen verschlungen und aus derselben wiederum hervorgewälzt wird: ebenso sanft aufgeschwellt und schwebend gezogen fließt hier eine Muskel in die andere, und eine dritte, die sich zwischen ihnen erhebt, und ihre Bewegung zu verstärken scheint, verliert sich in jene, und unser *Blick wird gleichsam mit verschlungen*. (KS,145; my italics)

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there any suggestion of the half-lights or music of poetry. Never is there anything approaching *Sprache der Leidenschaft* in Breitinger's sense. . . . Winckelmann never allows his enthusiasm to disrupt his reverence for shape and order".

While not disagreeing with Blackall, there do seem to be times, especially in the Torso description, where Winckelmann uses the "shape and order" which his language exhibits in the way a person might employ a cage to restrain an unpredictable animal. It is possible to feel the presence of an irrational force beneath the Apollonian control exercised by the language in the passage KS,145; and the italicized statement here in fact signals the beginning threat of a break-down of control and of irrationalism taking over, especially as "unser" unites speaker and reader in the vertigo-like final threat of destruction: "Verschlungenwerden".

For a discussion of Winckelmann's Apollonian stance in the context of art and the contrast to Heinse's Dionysian stance see Baeumer, *Das Dionysische*, pp.116-119.

## 2. EXCURSUS: THE SCHWÄRMER IN HEINSE'S POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE EVALUATION

Heinse (IX,300) associates "Schwärmerey" with Winckelmann, while Blackall (p.373) speaks of "enthusiasm" in connection with Winckelmann's language. Present-day usage has blurred some of the distinction between the terms "Enthusiasmus" and "Schwärmerei".<sup>61</sup> Though J.H.Campe in 1774 also speaks of a "Klasse der Schwärmer und Enthusiasten"<sup>62</sup> a difference between the two was often made in the eighteenth century, as G.Sauder has established.<sup>63</sup> Lessing for instance leaves no doubt as to the different implications of the two terms, their "seligen und unseligen Wirkungen".<sup>64</sup> The fortunate artist who possesses "Enthusiasmus"<sup>65</sup> is raised by it above the mediocre, according to Lessing. The "Schwärmer"'s distinguishing mark, however, he sees as merely the urge to rave about something, an in itself entirely uncreative, unproductive, sterile activity, indulged in as a - maybe quite conscious - means of avoiding positive action, as Lessing's Nathan shrewdly observes: -

Begreifst du aber,/ Wie viel andächtig schwärmen leichter, als/ Gut handeln ist? wie gern der schlaffste Mensch/ Andächtig schwärmt, um nur, - ist er zu Zeiten/ Sich schon der Absicht deutlich nicht bewußt -/ Um nur gut handeln nicht zu dürfen?<sup>66</sup>

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61. Duden *Fremdwörterbuch* (1982) has under "Enthusiasmus": "leidenschaftliche Begeisterung, Schwärmerei".

62. Quoted by G.Sauder, *Empfindsamkeit*, vol.1, p.138.

63. G.Sauder, *ibid.* pp.137-143, a survey of the two terms.

64. 'Über eine zeitige Aufgabe', *Lessings Werke*, ed. Wilkowsky, VI, p.375ff.

65. *Laidion's* narrator sheds tears (of *Empfindsamkeit*) over a death "aus Enthusiasmus" for humanity. (III,4)

66. *Nathan der Weise*, (op.cit., I,2, pp.359-364)

Similarly, when a metaphor is given such over-intensive exploitation *in itself* as Winckelmann gives to the muscle/wave metaphor, so that the object to be described - in this case the left side of the Torso - recedes to the point of unreality by becoming subjugated to the metaphor and its hypnotic attraction ("Verschlungenwerden"), it is surely right to speak of "Schwärmerei". There exists a link between Lessing's criticism of the inactive pointlessness of the "Schwärmer" and Winckelmann, it seems, enraptured more by his own metaphor and hence by his own enrapturedness than by the work of art, a case of "falling in love with love".

The love element certainly constitutes an important part in a "Schwärmer", pertaining to Plato's *Eros*, his "fourth type of madness", with a hint of the condition of those souls who, according to Plato:<sup>67</sup>

. . . seeing some likeness of the world above [where they once beheld true being] are beside themselves and lose all control, but do not realise what is happening because of the dimness of their perceptions.

Heinse had confirmed the connection already in *Laidion*:

Noch ist eine vierte Art von Liebe: das Verlangen nämlich, sich mit der Gottheit zu vereinigen. Diese Art von Liebe haben viele Menschen nicht, hingegen einige andere in so hohem Grade, daß sie Schwärmer, und ihres gesunden Verstandes gänzlich beraubt werden; das ist die Liebe, die Sokrates ein Verlangen nach der Unsterblichkeit nannte. (III,171)

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67. Plato, *Phaedrus* & *Letters VII and VIII*, transl. by W. Hamilton, p.56

Heinse here does not refer to Plato's notion of dimness of perception in the "Schwärmer", which is also linked with a definition of "Schwärmerei".<sup>68</sup> For this A. Menhennet cites Wieland, namely: its having an "illusory object", as distinct from "Enthusiasmus, i.e. inspiration by the true, the good, the beautiful".<sup>69</sup> This makes "Schwärmerei" worthless, even harmful, "unselig" in Lessing's sense. This definition is however too one-sided to accommodate Heinse's interpretation of the terms "Schwärmerey, Schwärmer, schwärmen". It is worth examining his two distinctly different applications of the term, as it helps to establish with greater clarity the "Sturm" sub-theme of this chapter, which in turn underlines the difference in stance between Heinse and Winckelmann.

The first application of the term - henceforth to be referred to as "negative" - agrees by and large with the definition above. In this vein Heinse decries as "Schwärmerey" Winckelmann's postulation that by imitating Greek art in the present day and age greatness is achievable. Heinse leaves no shadow of doubt that he sees this approach to art as mad purposeless delusion of the worst kind,

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68. Goethe implies dimness of perception as the mark of "schwärmen" and warns against it in his poem 'Metamorphose der Tiere' (HA, I, p. 201). Calling on Man to rejoice in his recognized ability to retrace the workings of Nature he also exhorts him to accept limitation ("sanfter Zwang"), essential to retain it in harmony ("Freiheit und Maß"). He ends by making clear-sighted certainty the aim, achievable by standing still, looking back and taking stock, in contrast with the implied uncertain haziness of view of "schwärmen", ("daß du schauest, nicht schwärmst").

69. Wieland's "Idris und Zenide": the *Aufklärer* as Romantic, pp. 91-100. Menhennet cites Wieland's essay *Enthusiasmus und Schwärmerei* of 1775 as his source.



intoxicating the young and ignorant: "ein Schwarm junger Phantasten, die noch nichts gesehen und mit Verstand beurtheilt haben, jubeln hinter drein". (VIII, 1, 554). Heinse continues in his Italian notebook in a tone of abrasive fury of a kind hardly to be found anywhere else in his writing, testimony to the genuine loathing ("ihr Ungeziefer, ihr garstiges") he felt at this form of crazy obsession with plaster phantoms ("Gipsgespenster") and the resulting hellish emptiness ("höllische Leerheit") of the monotonous singleminded pedantic copiers, for whom he creates a new label: the "ewigen Einerleyrasenden":

Winkelmann, und die Schaar, die nichts in sich selbst haben, sprechen gerade wie die Besessenen, wie Verrückte, wenn sie sagen, man solle bloß die Antiken studieren und nachahmen. Sie machen das Mittel, einige Schönheiten der Natur leicht zu finden, völlig zum Zweck; und mahlen und zeichnen nicht anders als mit den Gipsgespenstern um sich herum. Ein wahrer Unsinn, als ob etwa die Schönheiten, die im Apollo, dem Laokoon und der Mediceischen Venus stecken, nicht schon da wären. Ihr Einfaltspinsel, die Natur ist reich und unerschöpflich; diese Sachen, die griechische Meister sahen und mit ihrer Kunst fest hielten, haben wir schon, und wir wollen etwas anders. Vergrabt euch damit in eure höllische Leerheit, und nagt und geifert euch mit euerm Neid daran zu Tode, damit ihr einmal von uns wegkomt. ihr Ungeziefer, ihr garstiges.

Die Freude und der Genuß der Edeln entscheidet in der Kunst, und nicht Pedanten und Schulmeister. Wo habt ihr den Beweis, daß diese oder jene Statue die Regel sey? Die Natur ist die Norm, von eben dieser oder jener Statue, und dieselbe ist mannigfaltig und hat Vollkommenheiten, von vielerley Art, ihre ewigen Einerleyrasende! (VIII, 1, 555)<sup>70</sup>

Heinse here gives an excellent definition of the negative "Schwärmer": "die Schaar, die nichts in sich selbst haben". The notion of a *group* orientation involved is indicated by "die Schaar". A slightly less irritating

<sup>70</sup> W. Rehm's mild assertion, "Heinse wendet sich *fast haßvoll* [my italics] gegen die dogmatischen Kunsterkenntnisse Winkelmanns", is an understatement indeed. 'Götterstille und Göttertrauer', p. 223.

version of these "Schwärmer" are the "Phantasten", mostly young, but also old (Winckelmann!); and here, as in Goethe's poem cited above, the lack of clearsightedness is of concern, the tendency to read more into something than is actually there:

Man muß sich bey den bildenden Künsten bey Zeiten angewöhnen, platterdings nicht mehr zu sehen, als da ist; und dieß hält schwerer als mancher glaubt; ... Daher sehen unsre jungen Phantasten, und alte Phantasten in einer Vignette Wunderdinge, wo oft kaum ein Zügelchen von dem steckt, was sie vorstellen soll; daher fiel Winkelmann, bey jedem mittelmäßigen Apollo, ein alles, was er von diesem Gotte bey Homern und Pindarn, Junius gelesen hatte, und er goß es dithyrambisch aus, und allen Narren kam dabey eine Gänsehaut über den Leib. (VIII,1,386)

Linked with the "Phantast/Schwärmer"'s haziness of perception goes the notion of not having one's consciousness firmly anchored in the present:

Der gegenwärtige Augenblick ist unser alles, und giebt allein wahrhaften Genuß; wer sich zu lange bey der Vergangenheit oder Zukunft, besonders in seinem Ich aufhält, ist ein Phantast, oder hat wenig reelles. (VIII,1,402)

As an example of the "Schwärmer" and his illusory object and the possible ruinous consequences this may entail Ardinghello mentions Petrarch:

Glaube nicht, daß ich hier wie Petrarca schwärme; dieser war ein armer Sünder, und hing nur am Schein, nie an der Wirklichkeit; er hat mit seinem Geächz und Jammer schier unsre ganze Poesie zu Grunde gerichtet. Die Thoren [like "Narren" another name for "Phantasten" or "Schwärmer"] seufzten ihm Jahrhunderte lang nach. (IV,64; RA,61)

Lack of realism then makes Petrarch a "Schwärmer" for Heinse; lack of genuine artistic commitment and in its place empty technical dexterity makes the term applicable to some dancers Heinse watched:

Bey diesem haben die Tänzer viel willkührliches und bloß künstliches, was wenig oder gar nichts sagt, . . . . *Ein paar Schwärmer, die bloß die höchste Gewandtheit ihrer Kräfte zeigen, ohne einen andern Zweck zu haben. Bloß leere Kunst, weiter nichts.* (Heinse's italics; VIII,2,304)

Real dance for Heinse by contrast is an eruption of exuberant natural strength:

*Ausdruck oder Ausbruch üppiger Stärke und Gesundheit, die sich nicht mehr in sich selbst bergen kann; und so aller Leidenschaften, die ihre heftigen Bewegungen von sich strömen wollen.* (VIII,2,304; Heinse's italics)

Ignorance and a lack of feeling typify another "Schwärmer" for Heinse: the "Phantast" for whom art is a trivial pursuit in which to dabble as a pleasant pastime:<sup>71</sup>

*Nur der unwissendste Phantast kann von der Mahlerey als einer nur kurzweiligen Kunst sprechen. Sie ist für den gefühlvollen Menschen die erste unter allen; gibt Dauer völligen Genußes ohne Zeitfolge.* (IX,289-290; Heinse's italics)

A footnote in the first edition of *Laidion* (III,628-630) also contains references to "Schwärmer". Heinse here takes Plato to task for allegedly wishing people to be like machines, insensitive to all feeling, in his *Republic*. This Heinse interprets as turning them into "Schwärmer" or "Narren". Relenting, he admits to the "ächte Weisheit" of the work, yet laments the shortcomings of the German language which have tended to obscure Plato's wisdom, so that he has produced numerous "Schwärmer" "mit seinem metaphysischen wesentlichen Schönen, [und] der Vereinigung mit diesem". To avoid being seduced into

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71. The definition "Dilettante" for this sort of person is to my knowledge not part of Heinse's usage.

"Schwärmerey" by Plato "ein sehr gesunder Verstand" is necessary, Heinse claims, and devises a reading list of the classics for the benefit of "junge, wilde Genieen, die vor zu schnellem Fluge nur zu wenige Seiten von den Dingen sehen können". (My italics) The "Schwärmerey" then here consists of an unbalancing, a bias towards idealism, a lack of wholeness by "sich von allem Irdischen entfernen".

Summing up Heinse's negative "Schwärmer", he appears as a person affected to some degree by something like Plato's fourth madness, so that his clear sight of things as they really are is affected and his grip on the reality of the present moment - the only one human beings have really got - becomes tenuous; he lacks a healthy wholeness of perspective. Such a "Schwärmer" manifests himself in one of two ways:

a) as a seducer, like Plato himself at times, Winckelmann, Petrarch. They are not accused by Heinse of lacking feeling, even wisdom, but of its misguided or misplaced application. By the allure of his vision this "Schwärmer" incites others, stimulating the urge to rave about something, ("Schwarm machen"; "schwärmen").

b) Those thus incited, (nearly always in the plural): the "Schwarm" or "Schaar" of "Phantasten", "Thoren", "Narren", the mere hangers-on, identifiable by their "hinterherjubeln" and "nachseufzen", i.e. at a second remove from the origin of the "Schwärmerey". To this group belong the empty heads without knowledge or experience who enthuse in

pointless circularity;<sup>72</sup> the mindless copiers of the dead left-overs from a by-gone age; the trivializing dabblers blind to the profundity of their subject; the exploiters of mere artificial dexterity. All of these possess (if any) only the shallowest and narrowest grasp of the inexhaustible magnitude of Beauty in Nature,<sup>73</sup> i.e. in the world around them. All share an inner emptiness: they lack "Fülle"; and they all lack the capacity for genuine Feeling.

There is a second application Heinse makes of the "Schwärmer" concept, which he neither loathes or even frowns upon, but on the contrary is happy to be associated with. For an elucidation of this "Schwärmer" (hereafter called "positive" to distinguish him from the other type) it is helpful to return to Winckelmann. Walther Rehm rightly speaks of him as a "liebender Betrachter" and finds him "erosdurchglüht".<sup>74</sup> The threatened loss of control in the presence of Beauty which Plato had noted, of reason being taken over by irrational forces, is discernible in Winckelmann's term "Verschlungenwerden".<sup>75</sup> Heinse

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72. The opposite of the *rising spiral* of progressive realisation of potential, as in Goethe's "Steigerung".

73. "Ihr Einfaltspinsel, die Natur ist reich und unerschöpflich" (VIII, 1, 555). "Einfaltspinsel" appears a carefully chosen term to echo "Einerleyrasende" in emphasis on one-sided narrowness.

74. *Götterstille und Göttertrauer*, p. 212.

75. The *passiveness* of the concept is worth noting, in keeping with the Pietist idea of the soul letting itself be consumed by the divine. The verb "verschlingen" is (Langen, *Pietismus*, p. 295) normally used with evil connotations. The line "Will Satan uns verschlingen" from the hymn "Breit aus die Flügel beide" confirms this finding.

similarly detects a giving way of "Vernunftschlüsse" when the senses interfere (as, he implies, they necessarily must in a *feeling* human being in the presence of Beauty), as an adoring address: ("verliebte Declamationen") takes over:

Es ist schwer, sich bey der Schönheit auch in Abstractionen als Philosoph zu erhalten; die sinnlichen Vorstellungen, die sich nothwendig mit einmischen müssen, regen die Natur auf, und dann kommen gleich statt Vernunftschlüssen verliebte Declamationen, die wieder tausend Lehrer mit fort und von der Wahrheit wegziehen. So giengs Mengs und Winkelmannen. (VIII,1,200)

Heinse also shows here his awareness of a "Schwärmer"'s contagious quality, (what German so well describes by "hinreißend", another inheritance from Pietism). This ability to incite (already noted above), to sweep others off their feet ("mit fort und wegziehen") by which the *feeling* "Schwärmer" affects the "Schwarm" of hangers-on may well have led to the original image<sup>76</sup> of swarming, as of bees in their whirling excitement.

And yet, significantly, Heinse's tone is not really one of censure at Winckelmann's clearly "schwärmerische" infatuations. On the contrary, the concession in the opening words ["Ja"], "es ist schwer" reveal him as a kindred spirit in complete sympathy with this condition. Moreover, not only is there no contriteness whatsoever in Heinse at himself becoming a "Schwärmer" at times, but *gladness* to be endowed with the necessary ability. Thus, in the midst

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76. The term "Schwärmer, Schwarmgeister" was originally given to "reformation sects who spoke up in spiritual piety for adult baptism, 'Zucht' within the Church, and common ownership, to prepare for God's spirit being established on Earth". (My translation from *dtv-Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, 1968)

of describing the figure of Guido Reni's Madonna, the fourth madonna painting in the *Gemähldebriefe*, he pauses, the dash indicating the point where "sinnliche Vorstellungen" are beginning to interfere with sober description and "lebendige Vorstellung" takes over:

- Denken Sie sich das alles in Grazie lebendig, im blaßrothen anliegenden vorigen Sterbegewande, wodurch die schönsten Brüste sich ein wenig über dem falben Stoff von Gürtelbind ründen; der überirrdische ebene ein wenig sich erhebende Unterleib - Doch, ich werde zum Schwärmer über der Betrachtung. Und Dank dem Himmel, daß ich das werden kann! Schwärmerey für das Schöne macht allein zum glücklichen Menschen. O Petrarca, o Plato, euch hatte Adam des Paradieses nicht verlustig gemacht! (IX, 314)

The all-important imagination of this "Schwärmer" lets illusion<sup>77</sup> do its work, and so turns the image on the canvas here into an object of frankly erotic desire, "der überirrdische . . . Unterleib" - an almost comical "göttlich/tierisch" combination, though even this exhibits balanced wholeness. In *Laidion*, far from any art gallery, less physically defined "überirrdische Wesen" feature centrally in one of Heinse's mammoth sentences. This sentence bears fascinating witness to how Heinse himself can be taken over in its course - hence its length - by the "süße jugendliche Schwärmerey" which is his subject. In this way the disembodied "höhern Freuden" of the "schönen Seelen" with whom he sets off on one of his immense syntactic adventure

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77. The *Aufklärung* as represented by Johann Christoph Gottsched in his *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen* of 1751 viewed the power of the imagination with great suspicion: "Eine allzu hitzige Einbildungskraft macht unsinnige Dichter, dafern das Feuer der Phantasie nicht durch eine gesunde Vernunft gemäßiget wird." Quoted from Menhennet, p.108.

trails end in what must surely rank as amongst the most memorable definitions of Rapture in the German language: "der ganze Inbegriff seiner [des Himmels] Wonne wie ein schweeres Gewitter von Entzücken auf unserm Herzen":

Die höhern Freuden, die nur die schönen Seelen<sup>78</sup> empfinden: das heimliche Entzücken des Herzens im Anschauen des stillen starken Lichts von Gottheit, das aus dem Irdischen der Natur hervorblitzt, und ihm die Gestalt der Schönheiten des Himmels giebt; diese Ahnungen zukünftiger Paradiese, die in heitern Sommernächten bey Betrachtung der Gestirne durch unser Wesen in süßen Schauern zittern; die Ausflüge starker Geister in Welten, die oben in Wonne sich drehen; die Gefühle überirdischer Wesen, die hienieden sich wieder finden, sich erkennen, zusammenfliegen und sich vereinigen, so sehr sie auch Geburt und Stand voneinander trennen will - diese süße jugendliche Schwärmerey, wobey der Himmel in seeligen Augenblicken sich niederläßt und mit der Menschheit vermählt, wo der ganze Inbegriff seiner Wonne wie ein schweeres Gewitter von Entzücken auf unserm Herzen liegt - . . . (III, 255)

The passage begins in a restrained *Pietismus/Empfindsamkeit* tone, as if penned by one of the "Stillen im Lande" for the gentle lady readers of *Iris*. After "zittern" however the tenuous links with the Christian world ("höhern Freuden", "Ahnungen zukünftiger Paradiese") are all but severed as Heinse's own "Schwärmerey" takes off from its Platonic base: while worlds above rotate in rapture beings down here on Earth (that "hienieden" is essential) recognise their belonging to each other whatever the conventions; and Heaven and mankind become one in the cosmic celebration of the vision of this "Schwärmerei". To liken its rapturous substance ("Inbegriff

78. "Schöne Seelen", "empfinden", "Entzücken durch göttliche Kraft", "anschauen", the centrally important "still", "Licht von Gottheit", "heiter", "durch", "zittern", "Wonne" are all traced by A. Langen, *Wortschatz des Pietismus*, to Pietist sources.



seiner Wonne") in its abstractness to a natural phenomenon is characteristic of Heinse, (cf. "Rheinsturz von Summsen und Brummen"); so also is the discarding of the concept of stillness in the process. One might have expected him to retain this concept on account of its essential connection with the *unio mystica* and its erotic connotations.<sup>79</sup> This would be as far from understanding Heinse as it is possible to be.<sup>80</sup> Winckelmann had only partly secularised<sup>81</sup> and transferred to the field of aesthetics the ideal of stillness. On this ideal centres Heinse's opposition. He therefore chooses the soaring *flight* of strong spirits into Plato's revolving heaven, adding to it the element of rapture. The verb "sich drehen" fits subtly into the rotatory aspect of "Schwarm machen", lending to the positive "Schwärmer" his most significant feature:

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79. Langen, *Pietismus*, p.166

80. A suitable moment perhaps to point out Heinse's instinctive rejection of stillness already at an early age. He speaks of his running away from (not, as M.Dick (p.18) states, into) the dense silent stillness of the Thuringian forest, and quotes by way of elucidation a verse from Zerbin's tale in Wieland's *Idris und Zenide*. (3.Gesang, Stanza 14): "Die Ruhe der Natur, das allgemeine Schweigen ...". (IX,4)

See also Heinse's early exhortation to the "junge Geniees", the "Edeln": "Gehet aus euren Wäldern hervor!" (I,157)

81. A.Langen (*Pietismus*, p.181) explains that Winckelmann's concept of stillness, central to his view of art, is not Christian in the narrow sense, but has a religious base in the wider sense. "Stille" for him is not only prerequisite for the divine secret of Beauty, but also necessary in the approach ("notwendige Seelenlage") by artist and observer. Langen sees this as relating Winckelmann's view of art to the mystical experience, and calls it an aesthetic mysticism, for which Plato and Neo-platonism provided the most noticable stimulus.

it is the element of life he contains, in the way he is alive to the beautiful, the Feeling for Beauty is active within him, it sweeps him up in rapturous response; and it, the beautiful, also has to have the element of life within it. Hence Heinse's abhorrence of imitating what is dead and gone. Hence his empathy with Winckelmann's problem of adhering to philosophical abstractions "bey der Schönheit", and with Winckelmann ending up in "verliebte Declamationen". And hence his gladness at becoming a "Schwärmer" as "sinnliche Vorstellungen" intervene at the sight of the Guido Madonna. No wonder he writes in his notebook when surrounded by the art treasures of Venice:

Ach da sitz ich so da, und verwandle mir den Marmor  
in Leben mit Geist und Fleisch und Blut. (VIII,1,190)

The "Ach" is not a sigh of resignation at the rational realisation that the contemplated beautiful object is only marble. It is on the contrary a sigh of sheer blissful happiness at being able to transform it to life - by being a "Schwärmer" - and thus being able to experience something of a Platonic/erotic "Einswerden" with Beauty.

The positive "Schwärmer" is most perfectly represented in the figure of Ardinghello. The talented young artist, creative from an inner abundance, *positively* exhibits that seductive quality (being "mitreißend") in his "Kern-mensch" fullness of perception, not in the dangerous one-sidedness as found in Winckelmann. His first effect on the narrator in *Ardinghello* is telling:

Herz und Seele und alles in mir war wie ein Bienen-  
schwarm, so summsend, stechend heiß, und ungeduldig.  
(IV,20;RA,21)

Later, when Ardinghello sings with rare feeling in his beautiful voice "eigene Poesie, wie sie seinem Wesen entquoll", the narrator continues:

Es war bezaubernd, dem jungen Schwärmer zuzuhören, und wie in lächelnder Kühnheit das Feuer aus ihm wehte. Wie oft haben wir hernach in heitern Nächten uns in den See gestürzt! . . . und in der unermeßlichen gestirnten Natur frey herumgewallt wie die Götter! (IV, 41-42; RA, 40)

This "Schwärmer"'s ardour "weht aus ihm"; and "wehen" has already been classified above as a "Sturm"-related term.<sup>82</sup> The inner fire "wafting" out of him identifies Ardinghello as one of the noble few of "unruhigem Herzen" and "lebendiger Phantasie" able to transform what their keen eye perceives into feeling ("den überaus feinen Augensinn in Gefühlsinn verwandeln") and let illusion grip them as if in the presence of real life ("sich täuschen lassen, und wie von wirklicher Gegenwart ergriffen werden" IX, 290). One need not go as far as linking this "unruhige Herz" with the "dämonische Rastlosigkeit" of the "neue Mensch des Sturm und Drangs" which Baeumer discusses.<sup>83</sup> "Unruhiges Herz" here is rather the lively, faster, firier, ("stormier") heart-beat of the person who sees more finely, and translates what he sees aesthetically by being closer to and more involved with the subject than the placidly uninvolved, unimaginative person.

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82. In its substantivized form: "Erstes Wehen der Schönheit aus dem Schooße der Nacht, des Unsichtbaren". (IX, 294)

83. *Das Dionysische*, p. 117

Ardinghello, the most splendid positive "Schwärmer", being a "Kernmensch" draws on the beauty all around him which he "mit lebendigem Herzen in sich erbeutet". (IV, 11; RA, 12) As if acting out the Platonic yearning for union with the beautiful he and the narrator, under his spell: throw themselves in rapture into the lake, into liberating proximity to Nature. "Frey herumwallen wie die Götter" describes the heights a positive "Schwärmer" can reach, voluntarily emerging into the earthly element and free as gods in the aesthetic experience through Nature's beauty stretching to cosmic infinity.

Heinse's positive "Schwärmer", surrounded by storm-related notions ("sich stürzen" may be ranked here, even "lebendig" which so often means "unruhig" in Heinse's sense) represents the very opposite of the quality W. Rehm singles out in his discussion of Winckelmann's approach to art: "innere Gleichmütigkeit, ja Gleichgültigkeit", approaching the mystic ideal of "Windstille der Seele", the effect on the beholder of "Stille" and "Stillung" through the impact of Greek art.

DW notes that the word "Schwärmerei" is used "in dem milden Sinne" from the last third of the eighteenth century onwards. The implied more indulgent view taken of a "Schwärmer" - often seen as an attribute of youth (cf. Heinse's terms "süße jugendliche Schwärmerei; der junge Schwärmer") - is consonant with the phenomenon of a more dominant cult of feeling into which Heinse's positive "Schwärmer" fits. The capacity for feeling is the hall-

mark of this "Schwärmer". The view of the "Schwärmer" as worthless and harmful goes back to what was seen during the Reformation as the misguided zeal of some sects, and retains the sense of a worthless, possibly harmful (non-) activity right into the *Aufklärung* and beyond. Heinse, by his two different applications of the term skilfully uses the new milder interpretation<sup>84</sup> and the older, harsher one to mark the distinction between himself and Winckelmann. The worthless, harmful "Schwärmer" fits in with Heinse's dismissal of the empty copier and the deluded one-sided idealist, both followers of Winckelmann. The concept of the positive "Schwärmer" lets Heinse exploit the greater importance accorded to feeling by those around him, and lets him project through this his own Feeling for Beauty, which is bound up with the present moment and with living Nature in complete contrast to Winckelmann's too-exclusive focus on the ancients. To sum up Heinse's positive "Schwärmer", he, like Ardinghello, looks outwards, he links feeling with reality, with the real world. He observes with a sensitively-registering unclouded eye and responds from inner involvement and genuine aesthetic appreciation with a lack of inertia in a creative, enlivening manner. Summing up the positive "Schwärmer" amounts to a summing up of Heinse.

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84. One of these is mentioned by G. Sauder, *Empfindsamkeit*, I, p.141: Daniel Jenisch in an essay of 1787, *Ueber die Schwärmerey und ihre Quellen in unser Zeiten*, finds room for a "liebenswürdiger Schwärmer", whom humanistic involvement can turn into a "liebenswürdiger Enthusiast" (the "Enthusiast" throughout being surrounded by a more temperate and therefore more acceptable aura). Sauder sums up: "'Schwärmerei' im Sinne des 'liebenswürdigen Enthusiasmus' darf also in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Freundschaft, Politik und Religion nicht fehlen".

### 3. THE DESCRIPTIONS OF PAINTINGS IN THE FIRST GEMÄHLDEBRIEF

In the remaining part of this chapter style and language of Heinse's descriptions of the paintings in Düsseldorf will be examined. The order in which Heinse has arranged his descriptions is not at all haphazard. He begins with quiet religious paintings in the first letter and ends on a secular note of tension with Carracci's *Susanna*. This is by way of a bridge to the three tumultuous Rubens paintings with which the second letter deals. They are followed by a serene interlude in the Rubens landscape with rainbow, the ground as it were from which the seed has sprung which is then seen in full realisation of its potential in the final painting: Rubens's self-portrait. The "Genie", the "Kernmensch", even the positive "Schwärmer" are strands in the crowning concept of the "großer Mensch" whom Rubens, Heinse's champion against Winckelmann, personifies.

The tone throughout the descriptions is one of elevation, in keeping with the element of "hohe Schönheit" inherent in his subjects. The occasional dip into homeliness, so characteristic of the wide span of Heinse's language, is however also not lacking here. The unyielding, cumbersome nature of German syntax forces him at times into heroic wrestlings with it, stretching it to the limits of its capability in the sheer grinding effort to extract from it as perfect as possible a reproduction in words of the masterly application of paint onto canvas. Heinse is only too aware of the verbal contortions which his

self-imposed task unavoidably entails, as this apology to Gleim with reference to the *Johannes* painting shows:

Vergeben Sie mir die Einschiebsel, vielen Unterscheidungszeichen, Verbindungswörter und Beziehungssylben; es ist mir nicht möglich, mit anderen Worten Anschauung und Sinnlichkeit in Beschreibung dieser herrlichen Stellung hervorzubringen (IX, 316)

Yet, what at the beginning of the descriptions is felt by Heinse as the frustrating shackles of syntactical impedimenta becomes in the process of tackling them an increasingly light yoke and ends in triumph as a tool deliberately put to use with the assured, almost playful, confidence of mastery, the pen matching with apparent ease the brilliance of the brushwork it aims to recreate, the mind of painter and writer, it seems, as one.

1) Die heilige Familie. Von Raphael. (IX, 301-304)

Heinse captures the essence of this for him not entirely flawless early work in the modified praise "frühe Blume" of his opening exclamation: "Eine frühe Blume schöner Einbildung!". He is quick to point out the great visual reward ("unschätzbare Augenweide") it nonetheless provides for the initiated and those endowed with feeling ("Meister und Fühler").<sup>85</sup> When Heinse begins gently to point out the

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85. With "Fühler" Heinse shows his awareness of the cult of feeling. Heinse's "Edler" in the definitions above appears closely related to a "Fühler". The term seems peculiar to the eighteenth century: DW (defining it as: "einer der für sinnliche Erregung an sich oder in sich empfänglich ist, der fühlt, besonders wenn er lebhaft fühlt") cites Lessing: "Des Künstlers Schätzung ist nicht fühlt"; Schubart: "Soll ich dich nennen, Fühler jedes Fühlers Sache"; Lichtenberg: "Shakespear, der große Allfühler".

work's shortcomings he does so by the conjunction of noun with adjective in objective clarity:

der noch unsichre Besitz<sup>86</sup> von Licht und Schatten,  
der übergroße Fleiß in sorgfältiger Auspinselung von  
Nebendingen, . . . zu scharfe Ecken . . . für die weite  
Ferne von der Scene, der unfreye Himmel. (301)

The objective tone responds to the objective illusion-destroying clearness of outline in the picture which is its flaw for Heinse, lacking:

die sich verlierende ungewisse täuschende Form .  
. . unabsehbare Tiefen des Oceans von Aether, in dessen  
ungeheuren Abgründen das Licht der Stralen bläulicht  
wird, und sich verliert. (301)

Like a master-painter leaning over a pupil's shoulder Heinse here "paints in" his own "corrections", blurring and softening the overzealous sharp edges by the twice-repeated diffusing effect of "sich verlieren", "bläulicht [not 'blau'] werden", and by the implication of infinity contained in "unabsehbare Tiefen" and "ungeheuren Abgründen".

Not surprisingly Heinse's stock of adjectives includes many of those in vogue at the time, for instance: "süß, zärtlich, heiter,<sup>87</sup> entzückend" to describe what is pleasing. He can however also create his own adjective compounds, as has already been noted above when he described the ancient Greek statues as "wunderbar fremdschön" (IX, 297).

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86. "Besitz" here meaning "mastery".

87. G.-K. Kaltenbrunner names "heiter" as Heinse's "Lieblingswort" (op.cit., p. 62). E. Hock finds "Kern" to be Heinse's "Lieblingswort" (op.cit., p. 355). It is difficult to see that such unsubstantiated claims serve any purpose. Certainly some words stand out as of key importance in Heinse's language, such as "Kern", but not to the exclusiveness of one "Lieblingswort".



Now he speaks of the infant Jesus with his "gottheitvollen, gnadereichen, ferntraurigen Gesichtchen"(303), a word which captures all the poignancy of sadness foreshadowed, especially when linked to the endearing diminutive. Heinse may well be drawing here on Klopstock as source; yet there is more than mere intensification of meaning in these compounds: "fremd" and "fern" enlarge the scope of "schön" and "traurig", lending them a Romantic aura of the unknown and the far-away, even a breath of the wondrously strange ("wunderbar fremdschön" - really a conglomerate of three adjectives) and of the occult, the knowledge of what the far-distant future holds, in "ferntraurig". There may also be an implication of the aesthetic distance pertaining to these qualities.

Diminutives such as "Gesichtchen" occur throughout in connection with the infant Jesus and the infant John: "Aermchen, Beinchen, Hüftchen, Härchen, Krausköpfchen, Schläfchen". They ought not to be regarded as *lapses* into a homely style, but as inextricably part of even Heinse's most elevated style. They confirm an outlook which gives equal weight to "Gefühl" and "Geist".<sup>88</sup> Heinse responds as a "Fühler" in these diminutives, affectionate, protective in the perceived vulnerability of the young and small (the latter further brought out by "gar" in "gar klein"). He also responds as an intellectual

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88. The same wholeness of outlook makes Fiordimona exclaim: "Daß dieß die reine wahre Lust ist, mit seiner ganzen Person, so wie man ist, wie ein Element, göttlich einzig unzerstörbar, lauter Gefühl und Geist, gleich einem Tropfen im Ozean durch das Meer der Wesen zu rollen". (IV;235;RA,225)

in the aphoristic brevity of a phrase like "Alles lautere Ahndung, Blüthe in der Knospe der Zukunft"(303). In one sentence Heinse can have abstracts like "Grazie und Schönheit" side by side<sup>89</sup> with a phrase which shows that his heart has also been touched:

Es ist eine unbeschreibliche Grazie und Schönheit in diesen beyden gar kleinen nackenden Bübchen. (303)

Earlier an architectural effect of Guilio Romano's helped to elucidate Heinse's characteristic style. A similar purpose, with reference to Heinse's use of diminutives, may be served by recourse to a comment made by Friedrich Hölderlin in 1797 about Heinse, after having spent several weeks in Heinse's company in 1796:

Er ist ein herrlicher alter Mann. Ich habe noch nie so eine grenzenlose Geistesbildung bei so viel Kindereinfalt gefunden. (ZZ, p.38)

M.L.Baeumer, in his penetrating study "'Eines zu seyn mit allem". Heinse und Hölderlin', explores Hölderlin's philosophical background in connection with the above quotation, in which Hölderlin idealises Heinse as incorporating "die harmonische Vereinigung naturhafter Sinnlichkeit und grenzenloser Geistigkeit". Baeumer questions Hölderlin's

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89. Lothar Pikulik discerns an intellectual component in *Empfindsamkeit*, where "Denken und Fühlen nahezu ununterscheidbar sich verbinden", and where feeling is seen as equivalent ("durchaus seinesgleichen") to thought; unlike the "Subalternstellung" of feeling in the *Aufklärung*. Heinse is aware of this: "Der große Mann ist aber überall der, bey welchem scharfer und starker Sinn mit scharfem und starkem Verstand vereinigt ist, wo der helle Kopf dem feinen Gefühl die Wage hält". (VIII, 1, 25; my underlining) Heinse however completely lacks the inward-directed preoccupation with his own motivation, which is of such absorbing concern to an *Empfindsamer* like Lavater, the "Beobachter Seiner Selbst", or as Pikulik puts it, a "Typ des Grüblers, achtsam auf die innersten Antriebe des eigenen Handelns". *Leistungsethik contra Gefühlskult*, pp.280-281.

assessment, since in his view there is not "Sinnlichkeit und Geist . . . gleichwertig in harmonischer Weise verbunden, but "das Geistige dem Sinnlichen untergeordnet".<sup>90</sup> It is possible that both Hölderlin and Baeumer are right.<sup>91</sup> Abstract speculation ("Abstractionen kalter Vernunft"(IV,235; RA,226)) always does come second in Heinse's estimation after "unsre fünf Sinne", or "lebendige Natur", or "Gefühl". Yet in his style he achieves exactly that harmonious balance of the two elements which so impressed Hölderlin: namely the harmonious wholeness in the articulation of an outstandingly highly cultured man who could yet respond to the world with the simple clear-eyed spontaneous warmheartedness of an unspoilt child, "grenzenlose Geistesbildung" and "Kindereinfalt" in one, combining Hölderlin's "zwey Ideale unseres Daseyns".<sup>92</sup>

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90. *Heinse-Studien*, pp.49-91; especially pp.56-57.

91. By drawing on Hölderlin's quotation as an interpretation of Heinse's style, the profounder basis of the quotation as expounded by Baeumer has not been taken into account: its interweaving with Hölderlin's projection of the *Hen kai pan* formula in various formulations. The more straightforward interpretation of the quotation as a stylistic comment is nonetheless compatible with that of Baeumer, since Hölderlin must have had many excellent opportunities for registering Heinse's "cultured/childlike" tone in conversation with him, as perhaps while viewing works of art together in Kassel.

92. Maler Müller's impression of Heinse strikingly echoes Hölderlin: "eine doppelte Grundsäule von Kunst und ursprünglicher Menschheit". (X,149)

Goethe has Werther link the "zwey Ideale des Daseyns" with Lotte, who plays a melody on her piano "so simpel und so geistvoll". (Letter of 16 July, 1774 edition, p.67). Similarly Werther comments on the Count: "Ich habe, sagt ich, niemanden gekannt, dem es so geglückt wäre, seinen Geist zu erweitern, ihn über unzählige Gegenstände zu verbreiten, und doch die Thätigkeit für's gemeine Leben zu behalten". (Letter of 24 December, *ibid.*, p.120)

Besides diminutives the abundant and imaginative use of the present participle is a feature of the *Gemählde-briefe*. One reason for this must be that the form is perfectly suited to convey a sense of immediacy, the essential ingredient for producing "Täuschung". And "Täuschung" means not only: making the reader feel as if he himself is confronting the painting at this moment; but also: transmitting his, Heinse's, own involvement through the "unruhiges Herz und lebendige Phantasie" of a "Fühler", so that the painted image seems turned into reality. In order to bring out this "Täuschung" and its result - "wie von Gegenwart ergriffen werden" - the present participle is indispensable.

Heinse also achieves precise reproduction of detail through the present participle:

Maria, in einer mit dem linken Beine knienden Stellung, dessen Fuß ausser dem Gewand, . . . , in schönster Form, mit dem großen Zehen sich ein wenig stützend, zum Vorschein kömmt; mit dem kleinen Jesus am Schooße, den sie, halbsitzend und stehend, bey der Brust mit der rechten Hand hält.(302)

The present participle features as well among the "Einschiebsel" in a sentence through which Heinse perilously fights his way as if through a thicket, to emerge at last - one can almost hear the sigh of relief - at the word "vollendet":

Die alte Elisabeth; die eben so den kleinen Johannes mit der Linken hält, mit dem rechten Beine kniend, dessen Fuß eben so, nur ältlich, schrumpfend, und nicht so gestellt, liegend, wie der junge linke der Maria, ausser dem Gewande nach dem rechten Eck hervorgeht, welches, wie Beyder Hände, einen reizenden Kontrast macht, und die Schönheit der Gruppe vollendet.

It is striking how the stylistic difficulties Heinse encounters as he attempts for the first time to describe a work of art parallel the alleged imperfections of the young Raphael also striving for mastery in his field, so that in both is evident "der übergroße Fleiß in sorgfältiger Auspinselung". It is as if the empathy Heinse has for the young painter's inexperience forms itself into patches of awkwardness in his own work. Then, as if becoming more and more conscious of Raphael's emerging mastery, his own style becomes more flowing, with the present participle now fitting in effortlessly:

Sein [Joseph's] Kopf im grauenden Hinterhauptaar, und Bart, und kahler Scheitel, ist der Kopf eines gütigen, verständigen Mannes, noch feuervoll im beginnenden Alter. Er blickt mit nachdenkender Stirn auf den kleinen Johannes, auf ihn und den kleinen Jesus, wie Neuton in die Bahnen der Kometen. (IX,302)

And, as if to match Raphael's inventiveness, Heinse creates a present participle to describe Maria: "herzstehend". The description ends by linking Nature and Life with artistic greatness, a rebuff for Winckelmann:

Und bloß aus der Idee, der Einheit im Mannigfaltigen, dem Zug der Natur nach wahren Leben, kann man bey einem jungen Künstler sehen, ob er groß werden wird. (IX,304; Heinse's italics)

Winckelmann saw Raphael as following the Greek example by "sich über die Natur selbst erheben", using as "Urbild" "eine bloß im Verstande entworfene geistige Natur"; quoting as proof from Raphael's letter:<sup>93</sup> "Da die Schönheiten unter dem Frauenzimmer so selten sind, so bediene ich

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93. M.Dick (p.190) points out that Winckelmann made "schwerwiegende Kürzungen" when quoting from the letter.

einer gewissen Idee in meiner Einbildung".(KS,35) Heinse acknowledges the presence of "Idee", but the emphasis for him in Raphael's work is on Nature as it truly is in real life. This "Zug" of Nature towards Life in which Heinse detects Raphael's future greatness may be added to the "Sturm"-related terms, indicating an individual's active response to the irresistible driving forces of Nature. There can even be a daemonic potential in this drawing power (akin to the seductive "hinreißend" trait encountered in the "Schwärmer" above), as the narrator in *Ardinghello* experiences at his second meeting with the hero:

Mich überlief bey seinem Anblick ein leichter Schauer vor seinem gestrigen Ungestüm; aber er erschien mir von neuem so liebenswürdig, daß ich hingerissen wurde, und dem unwiderstehlichen Zug nachfolgte. (IV,20;RA,21)

By discovering the "Zug der Natur nach wahrem Leben" in the Raphael painting, Heinse manages to instil even into *its* static repose his essential life-element.

2) Heilige Familie. Von Michel Angelo Buonarotti.  
(IX,304-307)

Heinse's admiration goes out to Michelangelo for depicting in this small painting the sleeping infant Jesus ("der kleine Jesus, ganz nackend, mit hellbraunen jungen weichen Härchen"<sup>94</sup>) in a not quite secure posture. He applauds Michelangelo with an oxymoron:

Eine entzückende Gefahr, so recht des großen Meisters würdig, die immer das Herz in einem kleinen Schauer, und die stille Scene lebendig erhält! (IX,305)

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94. An example of Heinse's delicate "brushwork": three adjectives without dividing commas, to get the quality of the hair just right, and to make "Täuschung" possible.

The underlying tension then instills welcome life into the quiet scene for Heinse, in the way Maria has her hand "zum Griffe bereit", "in Besorgniß" that Jesus might fall, "welches gar leicht geschehen könnte", a conjecture by which Heinse passes on to the reader the "kleinen Schauer" of apprehension. With an inventive present participle he reiterates his astonishment ("dieß beynahe Unmögliche") at the deceptively small detail in the pose ("die kleinscheinende Erfindung einer nachlässigen und gefährlichen Lage im Schlafe"), by which the concern of the observer becomes engaged. This description demonstrates Heinse's journalistic instinct, which makes him single out in the pervading tranquillity the one item that promises drama, and at the same time also makes the scene what it *has* to be for him: "lebendig".

3) Madonna mit dem kleinen Jesus, von Carlo Dolce.  
(IX, 307-310)

Heinse does not care for this much-admired Madonna and child. Nonetheless he proceeds with the same meticulous and basically benevolent attention to detail as before. He manages to accommodate the complete setting in one vast sentence which runs to over seventeen lines on the printed page, and ends: "Eine schöne ungezwungene natürliche Stellung, samt der herumgezogenen Scherpe!" It is amazing how "ungezwungen", almost relaxed, is also Heinse's progress through this sentence, just like the eye of a pleasantly entertained but not deeply affected observer registering point after point of the

presentation. The basic structure of the sentence is however rigorously pursued: four verbs ("steht, hat ... genommen, hält, betrachtet") depend on the subject "Maria". The last verb is extended by a present participle ("hinneigend") with its own subject ("Jesus"), which is extended by two relative clauses, one of which has a relative clause of its own:

Maria steht lebensgroß bis an ... an einem Körbchen voll  
 Blumen auf einem Tische  
 worauf ... liegt;  
 hat daraus ... genommen  
 nebst ..., beyde mit ...,  
 und hält ... in ... zwischen ... an ... auf, nach ... hin,  
 und betrachtet ... ; den Kopf nach dem kleinen Jesus  
 den sie mit ... bey ... an einer Binde  
 auf eben dem Tische nackend stehen hält;  
 die ihm hinterm ... von ... unter ... um ... läuft  
 davon ... unter ... angehalten werden,  
 welcher auch in ... mit, ..., und ... hat, und sich ... freut,  
 und ... und ... des vor Lust aufgeschlagenen rechten  
 Händchens in die Höhe richtet. (307-308)

Heinse has several points of criticism of Dolci's painting, each of which he mollifyingly precedes with somewhat platitudinous praise: "schön gemahlt"; "eines der schönsten Kinder" etc., in order not to offend its many admirers, whom he describes with present participles of subtle disparagement as "Liebhaber, und Gutheit liebende, bewundern wollende Menschenkinder"(309). It is as if he senses in their *in itself* pointless activity something of the negative "Schwärmer". The haloes which in Raphael's execution ("feiner goldner schräger Zirkelstrich") had seemed "in der Magie der Täuschung, wirklich eine Eigenschaft höherer Natur"(304) are here "not geistig genug", "zu völlig". Drawing another image from astronomy, he likens them to "vielleicht den Dunstkreisen der kleinern Monde Jupiters".



The image is worth applauding for its inventiveness, also for the way it unobtrusively but clearly places Dolci in a lesser category by referring to a "lesser satellite", quite apart from the implied nebulosity of "Dunstkreis". The image also permits Heinse - a point he never neglects to exploit - to demonstrate the breadth of his knowledge of many varied fields of Western culture, (by the astronomical reference) in tune with the temper of his day. He uses the opportunity for a criticism of merely *acquired* excellence ("gelernte Vollkommenheit") which he claims to discern in the infant Jesus (Heinse puts it more graphically: "dem . . . etwas anhängt") which makes him look like a budding moralist instead of displaying the god-like quality of a higher being ("das Göttliche"; "wesentliche Eigenschaft höherer Natur").(309) There is altogether too much loveliness ("Holdseligkeit") here for Heinse, as he reveals in a confidential aside: "Unter uns". He seems to be detecting a whiff of what is nowadays called "Kitsch" in the altogether too easily accessible prettiness.<sup>94</sup> Never falsely modest he indirectly alludes to his own "geübtern Sinn und tiefer eindringende Schärfe" by which the difference between Raphael and Dolci may be perceived. He sums up his criticism: "Es fehlt

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94. It is worth noting that Heinse's sense for assessing the artistic merit of Dolci shows him as strikingly in tune with the twentieth century. The comprehensive dictionary of art: *A-Z of Art & Artists*, publ. Mitchell Beazley, 1984, states under *Carlo Dolci (1616-1686)*: "He specialised in devotional works marked by sweet colouring and enamel-smooth handling" which "won him an international reputation in his own lifetime, *but today appear merely sickly*". (My italics)

himmlischer Geist, das Göttlichfreye der Schönheit, und ächtes Jugendleben".(309) The substantivized adjective, as in "das Göttlichfreye" is a favourite form used by Heinse, which enables him to give as much prominence to a quality as to a thing:

das Schöne (292), das Göttlichfreye der Schönheit (309), die Schönheit des Kindlichen (309), das Wesentliche, das sittliche zur Schau darstehende; das Weniger und Mehr; das Jungfräuliche (312), das überirrdische ihres Wesens (333), das ... Weibliche (349), das Nackende (297), das Bange (293), das Augenblicklichste (293), das äußerste Fläche [a mere outline] von der großen Idee (352), das Göttliche (309).

Far from being a detriment to German prose style<sup>95</sup> the substantivized adjective (and verb, about which later) is here revealed as one of the subtlest tools of expression and one which has truly enriched the German language.

4) Madonna mit dem kleinen Jesus. Von Van Dyk. (IX, 310-313)

(Including a small painting of the infant Jesus by Leonardo da Vinci)

5) Himmelfahrt der Mutter Gottes. Von Guido Reni. (IX, 313-315)

Writing to Gleim (8 November 1776) Heinse, infuriated by Wieland's distorting corrections to his descriptions of paintings (prior to publication in the *Teutscher Merkur*), elaborates on the Madonna as a concept more explicitly than he felt had been permissible in the

95. Blackall (pp.136,171) notes Gottsched's suggestion that the new fashion for substantivation of adjectives is due to the influence of French. Gottsched saw this tendency towards philosophical abstractness as a detrimental development in the German prose style of his day. Blackall quotes, "Das Große, Schöne, Edle ... gewiß eine neue Metaphysik der Witzlinge" from Gottsched's *Sprachkunst*.

*Gemähldebriefe*. It becomes clear that Heinse's peculiarly veiled reference to the "Mehr und Weniger als jüngste Mutterliebe" of the van Dyck Madonna (312) is a reaction to a rhetorical question in *Aus Goethes Briefftasche*.<sup>96</sup> Goethe here had asked:

Hat Raffael was anders, was mehr gemalt als eine liebende Mutter mit ihrem Ersten, Einzigen? und war aus dem Sujet etwas anders zu malen?

Heinse introduces his answer by the claim that great painters have always taken as their model a "zärtliches liebevolles Mädchen, das zu früh ins Kindbett gekommen". (327) This fits in with the more tolerant and humane view of illegitimate childbirth which emerged in the *Sturm und Drang*, and to which Goethe also gave utterance in the figure of Gretchen in *Faust I*. Heinse then explains his own more complex view of the Madonna subject:

Madonna ist nicht bloß liebende Mutter, wie .  
. Göthe sagt, sondern sie ist Mehr und Weniger. (327)

As "Weniger" she is:

schaamhaftes heiliges Mädchen, fromme Verlobte,  
die in Unschuld wunderbarlich zu einem kleinen Buben  
gekommen ist. (327)

Heinse appears to be using "heilig" and "fromm" here in the sense of Christian otherworldly pioussness. "Heilig" in the true Heinsean sense means something rather like "ecstatically exalted", "beyond earthly or human bounds".<sup>97</sup>

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96. Gedenkausgabe, ed. Ernst Beutler, XIII, p. 52.

97. As for instance in the bacchanal in *Ardinghello*: "Es ging immer tiefer ins Leben, und das Fest wurde heiliger". (IV, 207; RA, 196)

The "Mehr" of his Madonna concept, (contrasted to that of Goethe's, of nothing other, or more than, a loving mother) consists for Heinse in: "eine Art von Göttin, geliebte Cirkaßerin<sup>98</sup> Gottes des Vaters, Danae des Zeus". (327) Heinse here introduces - with the audacity of the *Sturm und Drang*, but also quite naturally for him - a frankly erotic slant into the concept, - the Madonna as a "Freudenmädchen" of God! The special aura emanating from the Madonna is then for him not just a godliness derived from utter untainted goodness and virtue as in the orthodox Christian view. Heinse is open to this view as well, however, as the following sentence proves, marvellously atmospheric with its upward-pointing elements "Hinauf ... nach der Höhe ... nach ...entgegen":

Hinauf wird sie gehoben mit sanft nach der Höhe  
gebreiteten zarten Händen, endlich nun Gottes Sohne nach,  
den sie, unentweyht, unter ihrem Herzen getragen;  
dem Ewigen entgegen. (314)

The opening emphatic inversion "Hinauf ..." with the central "Gottes Sohne nach" and the final "dem Ewigen entgegen" are strategically placed within the syntax and

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98. "Cirkaßerinnen" Heinse holds to be the most exotically beautiful, hot-blooded and desirable women on earth. Hence his catalogue listing the individual sensuous components which may symbolize beauty in unadulterated wholeness, ("Schönheit ist unverfälschte Erscheinung des ganzen Wesens, wie es nach seiner Art seyn soll") includes (as well as "Reinheit für das Auge, Einklang für das Ohr, Rosenduft für die Nase, klarer Hochheimer Sechsunndsechziger für die Zunge") for the sense of touch "junge cirkaßische Mädchenbrust für die liebewarmen Fingerspitzen" (IX, 291).

Already in the early *Musikalische Dialogen* (before 1771) Heinse has "Waldmann" going on an imaginary journey to "Persien und Circaßien" where he fetches for himself "ein Mädchen, so schön, daß ich kein Fleckchen, und wär' es nur einen Pfennig groß, an ihrem ganzen Leibe ansehen kann, ohne entzückt zu werden". (I, 314/315)

form a surely not accidental trinity. Yet, without contradiction, the Madonna also personifies for Heinse the genuine essence of a goddess, her face is<sup>99</sup>"lauter, reiner, süsser, sonder alle Zier ächter Göttinnengeist".(313) It places her above her human counterparts ("über das Wesen jeder Menschentochter"). On another occasion Heinse had similarly singled out the Madonna from among all other "Erdentöchter", with the same painting providing the stimulus:<sup>100</sup>

Ueber die Madonna von Guido. (I,136)

In diesem süssen Blick läßt Gott sich hier erblicken,  
Wie Sonn' in Luna's Schein. O Himmel! o Entzücken!  
Bis aus den Spitzen strahlt's hervor vom blonden Haar.  
So kann's der Erdentöchter keine fühlen,  
Die nicht von Gottes Geist in taumelnden Gefühlen  
Mit Liebesfittichen einst überschattet war.

Only the "heathen" word "Luna" jars a little in what begins like a traditional Christian acclaim of the Madonna, aided by the intensifying polyptoton "Blick/blicken", also "fühlen/Gefühlen". It quickly becomes apparent, however, that "O Himmel! o Entzücken!"<sup>101</sup> linked with the (Dionysian) "taumeln" stand rather for an ecstasy similar to that experienced by Leda when "overshadowed" - not in the usual meaning of the term - by the "Liebesfittiche" of Zeus in the shape of a swan. The Madonna's unique

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99. Heinse sometimes extends the verb "to be" in this manner by an abstract noun, which receives extra focus in the process, e.g.: "Der ganze große Kanal ... war Getümmel von schönem Leben"(IV,8,RA,10).

100. Heinse wrote out the unpublished poem in a letter to Klamer Schmid (Spring 1775) with the introduction: "Jüngst war ich auf der Gallerie und war ganz im Anschauen der berühmten gen Himmel schwebenden Madonna von Guido verloren".(IX,244)

101. The Reni Madonna in the *Gemähldebriefe* is even more clearly ecstatic, with eyes raised "im Feuer der Entzückung".(IX,314)

quality thus manifests itself in a radiance which shines forth from her whole being down to the tips of her hair, and is the discernible reflection that once ("einst") she was the object of the erotic attention of God, - or of a god. (Heinse, minimizing possible offence, leaves the distinguishing remarks blurred.) The fascination of Heinse's Madonna descriptions in fact lies to a large extent in the interweaving of strands from Greek myth or thought, Christian belief, and real life. For instance the Raphael Madonna displays "himmlischer Geist" and is "so heilig" (Christian); "und wie in einem Traum, einem Gefühle platonischer Art" (vaguely Greek); and at the same time she is "doch so junges herzstehlendes Mädchen dabey" (a real person).(303)

The Reni Madonna - it is she, his favourite,<sup>102</sup> who induces in him grateful "Schwärmerey für das Schöne"(314) - is also responsible for the sudden exclamation: "O Petrarca, o Plato, euch hatte Adam des Paradieses nicht verlustig gemacht!"(314). It must surely be more than coincidence that Adam, here blamed for the loss of Paradise, also finds himself, though unnamed, cast in a very poor light as well in a second short poem, written probably at the same time as the Madonna poem, since it appears next to it in Heinse's manuscript. This poem, though only obliquely connected with the *Gemähldebriefe* as such, is included here for the glimpse it provides of the *Sturm und Drang*

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102. Again Heinse proves to be up-to-date: Though Ruskin in 1847 considered Guido Reni (1575-1642) to have "no single virtue" he is now seen as "one of the greatest artists of the period". (*A-Z of Art & Artists*, p.364)

daring which, having just insinuated God's erotic involvement with the Madonna, is now ready to come to blows with God's emissary on banishment from Eden:

Bey einer Landschaft von Claude le Lorrain. (I, 136)

Bacchidion, dieß wär' ein Land für unsre Liebe!  
 So voll von süßem Geist ist Busch und Bad und Thal  
 Und Wald und Berg. O wär' ich hier mit dir! ich bliebe,  
 Und käm ein Engel hundertmahl  
 Mit Flammenschwerd. Ich rief, wir gehen nicht!  
 Ich schlug mich mit ihm. Bey Gott! ich gienge nicht.

The same fearlessness as in Goethe's *Prometheus* is here projected, springing from a "stormy", restlessly active spirit,<sup>103</sup> in its utterly confident self-assertion questioning even divine retribution. The Self, the "ich" is the prime concern. An earlier, unpublished version of the poem clearly demonstrates this fact by the way "mit euch" is belatedly inserted, "wir" takes the place of "ich" as an afterthought, and "ich" is re-established in place of "und":

32  
 3) O Bacchidion, dieß wär' ein Land für unsre Liebe!  
 So voll von süßem Geist ist Busch und Bad und Thal  
 Und Wald und Berg. O wär' ich hier mit dir! ich bliebe,  
 Und käm ein Engel hundertmahl  
 Mit Flammenschwerd. Ich rief, wir gehen nicht!  
 Ich schlug mich mit ihm. Bey Gott! ich gienge nicht.  
 4) Ich schlug mich mit ihm. Bey Gott! ich gienge nicht.  
 5) Ich schlug mich mit ihm. Bey Gott! ich gienge nicht.  
 6) Ich schlug mich mit ihm. Bey Gott! ich gienge nicht.

103. Roughly contemporary with the *Gemähldebriefe* Heinse writes in his notebook that "der unruhige thätige Geist" has departed from mankind, so that even "die stärksten Orkane, die von guten Geistern über die Menschheit darin geblasen werden" cannot have any effect on this state of stagnation. (VIII, 1, 97-98)

Ihr Mädchen, ach! dieß wär ein schönes Land der Liebe  
 Bacchidion, dieß wär' ein Land für unsre Liebe  
 So voll von süßem Geist ist Busch und Bad und Thal  
 Und ~~Hügel~~, und Wald und Berg. O wär ich hier<sup>mit euch</sup>, ich  
 In ~~diesem Hayn~~, und käm' ein Engel tausendmahl blieb  
 Mit seinem Flammenschwert. Ich rief, ~~ich~~<sup>wir</sup> gehen nicht,  
 Ich  
 Und schlüge mich mit ihm. Bey Gott! ich gienge nicht.

The address "Bacchidion" links the poem to Heinse's  
 Wieland-influenced earlier stage;<sup>104</sup> and the plural address  
 "Ihr Mädchen" in the (discarded first) opening line  
 fits into the *Anakreontik's* unfocussed "Tändelei".<sup>105</sup>

104. Bacchidion features in Wieland's *Geschichte des Agathon*.  
 "Bacchidion war eines von diesen Geschöpfen, in deren  
 Phantasie alles rosenfarb ist, und welche keine andre  
 Sorge in der Welt haben, als ihr Dasein von einem Augen-  
 blick zum andernwegzuschmerzen. ...".

Christian Martin Wieland, *Werke*, ed. F. Martini and H.W. Seif-  
 fert, I, p. 766.

In connection with the published versions of both  
 the poems (Nrs. 123 and 124 of "Zerstreute Gedichte II;  
 I, 136) Schüddekopf states in his *Kritischer Anhang* (I, 348,  
 350): "Handschrift im Nachlaßheft 36, ungedruckt, auf  
 einem Oktavblatt... noch vor Halberstadt [i.e. before  
 September 1772] entstanden?" No alterations in the text  
 are mentioned. I came across the poems in Nachlaßheft  
 82, Nr. 54, on a badly torn half page possibly from one  
 of the small notebooks Heinse favoured. From the double  
 opening lines and the several alterations this could  
 be a first draft.

The photo-copy is published here, probably for the first  
 time, with the kind permission of the Stadt- und Universi-  
 tätsbibliothek, Frankfurt am Main.

105. There are instances in Gleim's *Scherzhafte Lieder*  
 of girls thus addressed in the plural, or considered  
*en masse*, for example, from 'Einladung zur Liebe': "Mädchen,  
 wollt ihr mich nicht lieben?", or, from 'Die Lobredner':  
 "Doris höre doch die Redner, / Höre doch, sie loben Mädchen",  
 or, from 'Der Rechenschüler': "Ich aber zähle Mädchens".

(*Anakreontiker und preußisch-patriotische Lyriker*, ed.  
 Franz Muncker, pp. 208, 213, 218, 219).



Even here Heinse shows the apparently intuitive ability to recreate *stylistically* a characteristic pertaining to his subject. Thus he here resorts to a four-"und" polysyndeton connecting five monosyllabic units (having crossed out the two-syllable "Hügel"): "Busch; Bad; Thal; Wald; Berg". This echoes Claude's well-recognized painterly technique, in which he constructs his idealised landscapes harmoniously out of clearly definable receding elements,- as here from foreground "Busch" to distant "Berg". If the poem was written before 1772, as Schüddekopf wonders ( and the fact that Heinse in his Spring letter of 1775 to Klamer Schmid (IX,244) says: "Ich habe das Versmachen ganz vergessen", lends support to the conjecture), then it gives a foretaste in miniature of his talent for describing paintings.

"Bey Gott!" which precedes the final resolve not to give up Paradise, should not - in view of Heinse's dislike for such usage (Only one very early "Poz Wetter"(I,331)) - be taken as trivially emphatic, such as "By Jove!" in English. It may be taken perfectly seriously as an oath, not of course calling as witness the biblical God of Wrath - against whom he is willing to take up arms - but the divine cosmic force, "das Wesen" which manifests in itself the "Streben nach Genuß"(IV,317;RA,302) and which is here threatened by the "Flammenschwert".

The five opening descriptions of the *Gemähldebriefe* do not deserve to be so completely overlooked by critics as they are. Not only do they show Heinse in his language facing up to the trap of endless "Einschiebsel" in this,

his initial step towards becoming a "Kunstfeuilletonist", a new literary genre he established for Germany, as Diderot did for France.<sup>106</sup> They also show the wider scope made possible once "Gefühl" is allotted an equal place with "Geist". This allows Heinse to react to Beauty in art naturally without having to discard his wide-ranging cultural stance, often informed by classical antiquity, and express admiration<sup>107</sup> for the figures of Maria and Jesus at the same time. The resulting classical/Christian/real-life blend is quite likely to be registered by the reader as just refreshingly varied terms, such as in the phrase listing the attributes of the "Mutter Gottes, und Gottes Sohne": "himmlischer Geist, das Göttlich-freye der Schönheit, und ächtes Jugendleben".(309)

By way of parting from the first five descriptions here are two sentences concerning the ascending Madonna by Reni:<sup>108</sup>

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106. These facts are brought to attention by M.L.Baeumer (*Das Dionysische*, p.110). Baeumer quotes in this connection:

K.D.Jessen, *Heinses Stellung zur bildenden Kunst*, p.161; and W.Waetzold, *Deutsche Kunsthistoriker*, p.131.

107. This in no way diminishes Heinse's life-long loathing for the to him anti-"Lebensfreude" trappings of religious institutions, such as "fettgemästete Pfaffen", "sehnsuchtsvolle Nonnen", "Klöstergen", "Capelle", "trauriges Cruzifix" (IX,41); and for a religion which decrees that "Leute . . . niemahls frölich werden sollten"; that they should walk "durch Trübsal und ganze Sümpfe voll Ungemach ins Reich Gottes".(IX,42)

108. The first sentence has already been quoted above. It is separated from the second by twenty lines of text.

Hinauf wird sie gehoben  
mit sanft nach der Höhe gebreiteten zarten Händen,  
endlich nun  
Gottes Sohne nach,  
den sie, unentweyht, unter ihrem Herzen getragen;  
dem Ewigen entgegen.

Flügelregende Engel,  
worunter die zween größten von himmlischer Schönheit  
und hohe Ideale schöner Knaben sind,  
berühren mit ihren Schultern,  
schön im Kreis herum, in Unschuld und Anbetung,  
den Saum des untergesunkenen Gewands zu den Füßen;  
und oben empfangen sie andre,  
klein  
in weiter Entfernung,  
im Lichte,  
das von dem Himmel aller Himmel,  
wie die allerheiligste Gluth, herunterleuchtet,  
und den ganzen Luftraum erfüllt. (IX, 313-315)  
(My free verse arrangement)

The tone of these two sentences is different from anything encountered so far in the descriptions. For one thing *motion* enters into it for the first time in the ascent. This permits something like a "live" commentary on the "action", and with it "Täuschung", (being gripped "wie von Gegenwart"), through the present tense form of the construction "sie wird gehoben", extended by the directional terms already mentioned, ending with "oben". The upwards-receding point of perspective towards which the figure is moving is captured in three-fold depth: "andre", "klein in weiter Entfernung", ending in the centre "im Lichte". This focal point is then reversed to become the source of downward radiance ("herunterleuchten"). Its all-permeating quality is pictured in the massing of "Himmel aller Himmel", "aller" picked up again by "allerheiligste", "Licht" expanded in the polyptoton "herunterleuchten" and heat-intensified to "Gluth".

Heinse in his language here mirrors the description's opening impression: "Wahrhaftige Verklärtheit"(313). The elevation of tone (the German "Getragenheit" is the most apt term here) is such as to seem itself to be participating in lifting the figure upwards in festive solemnity, the melodious rhythm aiding the impression of uplift like the gently beating wings of angels. The words themselves appear to participate where necessary by shaping themselves for a perfect meter("untergesunknen", "Gewands", "zun"), as if willingly doing their humble best to become tools in this wondrous process.

The splendid vision of the ascending Virgin is of course worthy of a writer's great poetic effort. With Heinse this applies even more in view of the complex features of the Madonna concept for him. It is fascinating to observe how in the "Mehr" and "Weniger" elucidations to Gleim Heinse shows himself to be ahead of Goethe's then more straightforward interpretation, and how yet Goethe joins Heinse, or is very close to him, at the end of *Faust II*. The *Mater Gloriosa*, "die Herrliche mitteninn"(11993), whose complexity comprises - much like Heinse's Madonna concept - "Jungfrau, Mutter, Königin, Göttin"(12103) is perhaps the personification of that concept: virginal, divine, maternal, eternal, - erotic in Plato's most sublime sense.<sup>109</sup> The difference between

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109. But in Heinse's case this is never without the purely physical erotic sense as well. "Ueberirrdischer Unterleib" is no comical slip of the pen.

Plato on the one hand and Heinse and Goethe on the other is that his vision of remembered absolute being with which the soul tries to reunite in upwards striving, wears in their case a female aspect, "das Ewig-Weibliche". The same spirit by which Goethe's *Chorus Mysticus* - speaking, it seems, for all of creation - feels drawn upwards, also inspires in Heinse the exalted elevated tone - one might say the tone *is* the response to the upward-drawing force. All of human aspiration is encapsuled in the final word of Goethe's *Faust*: "hinan". There is much sensual "Gluth" at the core of Heinse's Madonna concept which he created fifty years before the octogenarian Goethe completed *Faust*, yet Goethe's final word "hinan" and Heinse's opening word "hinauf" stand as mutual confirmation of a vision they shared.

6) Johannes in der Wüste? von Raphael. (IX, 315-318)

In his letter to Gleim (8 November 1776; IX, 327) Heinse refers to the description of this painting as "mein Johannes in der Wüste, . . . das beste vielleicht, was ich je geschrieben".<sup>110</sup> This claim is worth investigating. Certainly the pose is "schwer zu beschreiben" (315) and must account for some of the satisfaction as at a challenge well met, achieved here by means of a keen eye ("ein Billiardsauge")<sup>111</sup> and the ability to let illusion take over ("Herz haben,

110. Rahel (ZZ, p. 48) attests to the validity of this claim when she singles out *this* painting: "Wenn ich nur Raphaels Johannes in der Wüste sehen könnte!", and accredits Heinse with having produced this longing in her.

111. Heinse was an accomplished billiards player.

um getäuscht zu werden"). All the same, the style becomes tortuously stretched in the attempt to reproduce every detail, like a photograph in words,<sup>112</sup> such as here:

Sein Kopf, mit krausen, lichtbraunen Locken bedeckt, wovon einige in das rechte Theil der Stirn, und über das linke Ohr herübergehn, steht aufrecht, gegen den linker Hand hin etwas schrägen Oberleib, vorwärts nach der rechten hinunter dem rinnenden Wasser nachsehend. (316)

(This passage is followed by Heinse's apology for all the "Einschiebsel, Unterscheidungszeichen, Verbindungswörter und Beziehungssylben"). It is more likely that the reason why Heinse was so pleased with this description is the fact that he used it to show how much at home he could be in the language of *Pietismus*-influenced *Empfindsamkeit*.<sup>113</sup> The proximity of the "empfindsame" Fritz Jacobi is unmistakable and attested to in Heinse's remarks to Gleim à propos a visit to Düsseldorf:

[Wie würden Sie] Inbrunstvolle Lieder singen für die Waller nach dem Johannes in der Wüste! Sie sollten alles . . . genießen, was Fritz und ich Heiliges für Phantasie und Herz an den Ufern des Rheins . . . in Natur und Kunst aufgespürt hätten. (IX, 319)

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112. G.-K. Kaltenbrunner (op.cit., p. 55) points out a very relevant fact, namely, that at Heinse's time the technique of photography was unknown, and all those not fortunate enough to be able to see works of art for themselves had to rely on often inferior engravings or descriptions. Heinse, one might claim, was the nearest the eighteenth century got to a camera!

113. Heinse was hoping for favourable attention from the court at Mainz through the *Gemähldebriefe*. (IX, 326) In view of the impending demise of the journal *Iris* of which he had been co-editor with Joh. Georg Jacobi since 1774, it is possible to explain the "gefühlvolle" tone of the Johannes description at least partly as a carefully designed attempt to impress on court circles his suitability for a post there as a man of "Phantasie und Herz", since he was shortly to be out of a job again.

When Heinse says of the Johannes figure: "Stille, innrer Friede, Ruhe"(317), the essentials of *Pietismus* seem to be celebrated here, the prerequisites for its desired union with the divine.(Langen, *Pietismus*, p.133). Yet immediately Heinse admixes a dynamic verb from lightning or fire imagery ("herabflammen") as if shaking off the stifling repose. This duality is maintained: Johannes has "Huld", i.e. a (static) expression of patient benevolence, yet also a "Schein edler Wildheit vor dem Getümmel der Menschen", i.e. the appearance of (a noble savage's) shying away (with implied *running*) from the crowd; he is willing to let concentration cease ("ablassen") while at the same time "noch ganz lebendig in heißen Gefühlen".(318) Clearly it is the enlivening *tension* set up by the presence of these differing qualities which attracts Heinse. In the next sentence he blends in masterly fashion the *Pietismus* and *Empfindsamkeit* notion of balm flowing into the heart<sup>114</sup> with his description of the shadings of light. By linking both elements in the extended "Wie" construction and balancing it by just the two words "ist unaussäglich" he attains that air of sincerity by which "genuine" *Empfindsamkeit*<sup>115</sup> may be judged:

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114. As also expressed by Werther (4 May;p.7), together with the notion of solitude: "die Einsamkeit ist meinem Herzen köstlicher Balsam".

115. The quality associated with the "wirklich Empfindenden", those who possess real "Feinheit des Gefühls". J.G.A.Forster detects this quality in Lichtenberg (letter to Fritz Jacobi, 10 October 1779): "Mit dem äußerst feinen Tact, verbindet er einen förmlichen Abscheu gegen die neuere Empfindsamkeit, die eigentlich dem guten Leßingischen Worte, einen bösen Stempel aufgedruckt, und dessen Curs im Lande der wirklich empfindenden verboten hat." Jacobi in his reply a fortnight later avoids Forster's formulation: "neuere Empfindsamkeit", and replaces it by "Empfindelei", saying: "Das Wort

Wie alle die bedeutenden Theile im Licht stehn,  
und die andern im Schatten, der an der rechten Seite,  
von den Bäumen her, beynahe in's Dunkle sich verliert;  
und nun von dem Ganzen so nach und nach unaufhörlich,  
wie von Quell, erquickendes Wohlthun einem in's  
Herz überfließt, ist unaussäglich.<sup>116</sup> (318)

The next three sentences, however, find Heinse simply striking fashionable attitudes like an all-out "Empfindler".

Here are sentences 1) and 3):

O wie oft, heiliges Bild, hast du mich, am stillen  
Abend, einsam unter deinem Einfluß sitzend, alles  
in der Welt vergessen gemacht!<sup>117</sup>

Stündest du in einer alten Kapelle, im Gesträuch vom  
grünen Thal hinauf, am Fuß eines waldichten einsamen  
Gebirgs; würdest du so recht die Wallfahrt der Weisen  
seyn. (318)

Here one cliché follows hard upon the heels of another. Significantly, in sentence 1) the painting is reduced to secondary importance, in spite of the seemingly devout concentration on its religious aspect ("heiliges Bild", "Wallfahrt"). The painting is now really only the stimulus ("Einfluß") for an introspective mood, a blotting-out of the world in solitariness, all this "sitzend"!<sup>118</sup> The tone, really a "Modeton", does not ring true coming from Heinse. Gone, it seems, is the outward-looking

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Empfindsamkeit mag ich nicht verhunzen helfen". (F.H.Jacobi, *Briefwechsel*, II, pp.112,118). See Sauder, *Empfindsamkeit*, I, pp.4-7.

116. "Unaussprechlich" (= "unaussäglich") concerns the original basic mystic conviction of "Gotteserlebnis". The *ineffabile* formula later becomes pale and over-used and then describes all sorts of conditions relating to the soul, e.g. with Lavater and Stilling. (Langen, *Pietismus*, p.173)

117. Not that Heinse was not genuinely affected, from F. Matthisson's account (ZZ, p.22): Heinse placed him before the work with the words: "Nun beten Sie an!" and retired to a windowseat for quiet contemplation of it.

118. "Sitzend" can imply sluggishness, lack of (daring) activity for Heinse, as when he describes J.G. Jacobi as the "gernsitzenden Bräutigam der Iris". (IX, 189)



"unruhige, thätige Geist", the pivot of the creative personality Heinse projects, that spirit which made already the fourteen-year-old Heinse run from "die Stille der Natur . . . in der mein Geist sich mit sich selbst besprach", (I,4) If any further proof is required of the unnaturalness of the stance that produces this tone, one may turn to Demetri, who may be taken largely as Heinse's mouthpiece. He puts forward his idea of God, i.e. the highest form of existence, as "ein Wesen, das . . . ganz aus Thätigkeit besteht . . . eine unendliche Unruhe". (IV,315,316;RA;300) Heinse's dilemma of course lies in the fact that *Pietismus* equates "Unruhe" with "Gottesferne".<sup>119</sup> This means that, while his basic conviction places Heinse on the side of "Unruhe", "Sturm", "Bewegung", "Leben", prudence dictates that he claim, if not allegiance, at least familiarity with the opposite view, which includes that represented by Winckelmann and his followers.

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119. Langen, *Pietismus*, p.133. According to Langen, "Unruhe" or "Unruhe des Herzens" are the opposite of "Stille" or "Ruhe", necessary mystic requirements for achieving "Vereinigung mit dem Göttlichen". Langen (p.181) sees here the origin for the concept of "Stille" at the centre of Winckelmann's aesthetic stance. For him "Stille" is not only necessary in connection with the divine secret of beauty, but also necessary in the mood ("Seelenlage") of the observer. In the latter stipulation could lie an explanation of Heinse's apparent turn-about.

Langen, also in connection with Winckelmann, points out that, just as in Mysticism and *Pietismus* God's approach takes place "im stillen Seelengrunde", so in the case of Winckelmann the god-like quality of "stille Schönheit" can only be "in der Stille erzeugt, in der Stille empfangen werden". (p.182) Langen states that "Stille der Seele" as a prerequisite for the reception of a work of art (a doctrine the truth of which Heinse in the Johannes description is trying so hard to portray as existing in himself) constitutes perhaps the most important secularisation and re-interpretation of the concept in the eighteenth century.

Another factor which makes Heinse suspect when sounding like an "Empfindsamer" is the fact that he is not at all sentimental,<sup>120</sup> in the sense of a self-indulgent and self-absorbed display of (often merely claimed) abundance of feeling. Wordy borrowings from *Pietismus* or fragmented stammerings are signs of this sentimentality which in *Empfindsamkeit* language might be called "Herz", and which is something Heinse lacks. Fritz Jacobi made a much-quoted remark to Goethe (21 October 1774; ZZ,p.11):

Lieber, der arme Rost [Heinse's pseudonym for a time] hat kein Herz; seine Seele ist in seinem Blute, sein Feuer ist bloss Glut der Sinne.

In the light of the above findings this remark, intended as condescending criticism by excluding him from the "Gefühlskult" turns out to do Heinse really no harm at all. There were basic differences of outlook between Heinse and Jacobi, yet there was also friendship between them. Heinse lived in the Jacobi household; he and Fritz walked, skated, and played billiards together. Jacobi describes Heinse as a cheerful and obliging companion ("der willfährigste und fröhlichste Genoss"); a person, willing to adapt to the company in which he found himself, ("was der Gesellschaft gefiel, in der er sich befand, gefiel auch ihm"), as Jacobi confirmed. (ZZ,p.45) Heinse could therefore willingly have adopted the *Empfindsamkeit* tone in the Johannes description to please Fritz Jacobi.

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120. Reinhardt Landt mentions "Heinse's unsentimentale Einstellung zum Leben" which Jacobi did not quite know how to take. (Jacobi, *Briefwechsel*, Einleitung, XII)

Heinrich Laube too finds in Heinse, "Von aller Sentimentalität nicht das Geringste". (*Werke*, Einleitung, LXLI).

An earlier attempt at assimilating *Empfindsamkeit* into his style had been made by him (6 February 1775) in the first of two publications in letter form from the *Teutscher Merkur*, addressed to "Herrn H.J." (Heinrich Friedrich [Fritz] Jacobi). The writer describes receipt and first reading of an Italian poem: *Ricciardetto di Nicola Fortiguerra*. Heinse starts off, "willfährig" enough,<sup>121</sup> with Jacobi, the "heiteren Pietisten"(IX,142) in mind, sounding himself like one of the "Stillen im Lande"; summoning "heitere Ruhe wie Haynlicht", and

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121. Heinse's early letters to Gleim bear striking witness to his willingness to please his then only benefactor, the *Anakreontiker* Gleim; as Thomas Sömmering wrote to Fritz Jacobi: "Was er aus Gefälligkeit mitunter Gleimen schrieb und sagte, hätte der rechtschaffene, fürs Publikum und die Nachwelt die nötige Achtung hegende Heinse als Mann schwerlich drucken lassen." (ZZ,p.42) His stylistic flexibility is further demonstrated in the light bantering tone reserved for the lady readers of *Iris*. In two letters dealing with the game of chess, at which he excelled, to his friend Friedrich Klinger he assumes that particular brand of gruffness of the *Sturm und Drang* which was associated with Klinger. It is an expressive mode not to be found anywhere else in Heinse's writing, clearly a case of Heinse's adaptability, as a few examples show: "Nur wenig Worte, lieber K.!" ; "Lieber Bruder ..."; "A propos wegen des Merkurs! . . . Du wirst Deine Lust daran haben, wie ich Dir darinn den dummen Teufel von Lemgo ausgepfiffen. Du Löwe solltest Dir auch so etwas in der gelehrten Welt aussuchen, das Du zausen und raufen und bemauschellen könntest, damit Du Dich nicht immer selbst mit Deinen Klauen unmäßiger Kraft und Stärke hinter die Ohren schlagen müßtest"; "ein lumpichtes Spiel Schach"; "das wäre der Teufel!"; "Das ganze Schachspiel ist ein Burzelbaum in der Idee, es geht einmal krumm und einmal zwerch"; "daß der verdammte Kerl Recht habe".

The letters also contain an amusing parody of a style of military subservience: "Könnten zwar, den Ziefern nach, noch neunzehnerley andre gnädige Kommandos geben, wenn sie in die Fußtapfen des hochweisen Bahams einzuschlagen Belieben fänden; würden aber, mit unterthänigstem Respect zu vermelden, dero ganze unüberwindliche Armee, mit allen ihren Regimentern, bestehend aus sieben Offizieren, und, wo ich nicht irre, acht Gemeinen, in die Pfanne hauen lassen". (IX,365-372)

throws himself with such determination into the "Stille" concept ("liege so still da, so still") that he ends up - almost, it seems, contorted by the unnatural charade, at least that inference may be drawn from the entangled roots and branches picture the word conjures up - as a "Waldgewächs". With the address "O heilige Poesie!" comes the break to the real Heinse, the change from the "Liebe und Freundschaft" (Jacobi's cult of friendship) to "Sturm und Donnerwetter", to himself. Heinse soars off, on the wings of his imagination, rising above the poet and the poem which inspired him, ("daß ich nun das Buch hinlege, und mehr bin: und nicht mehr an ihn denke" (III,455)). At first sight this reaction seems as *self-promoting* as the introspective "sich mit sich selbst" of the "Empfindler". It is not, however. This persona *shares* the "Feuerwallen des höchsten Lebens" which is "in mir und außer mir" by making the reader a witness of the spectacular, titanic piece of entertainment ("Kurzweil der Natur") which unfolds before him. The cosmic high jinks consist in a display of violent exuberance, carried by verbs such as:

erzürnen, Rachen öffnen, schäumen, verschlingen,  
vor Wuth ausspeyen, im Abgrund verschwinden, höher als  
Gebirge werfen, herunterstürzen, zerschmettert werden,  
wanken, krachen. (III,455)

The end is a nose-bleed of joy (!) of Mother Rhea. Waves of burning lava are transformed (in the length of a dash "-") into an ecstatic dissolving of the soul into the cosmos, permeating and feeling it, and finding the pinnacle of creation in its infinite turmoil: "immerwährenden Krieg und immerwährendes Leben, groß und schön" (III,456).

In the majestic double present participle:

verzehrendwiederneuerschaffend

a thirty-letter-word, in which the central "wieder neu" is flanked and held in balance by the negative and the positive, Heinse again gives the impression of treating his medium like a "bildender Künstler". At the risk of being fanciful, there is in the *shape* of the word there on the page something that puts one in mind of a belt, namely, the belt of Urania, the "glänzende Jungfrau", whose "Zaubergürtel das Weltall in tobendem Entzücken zusammenhält"(IV,283;RA,270). The theme links with that of "ewig gebährende und ewig vergehende Harmonie" of the *Gemähldebriefe*(IX,293).

Only when Heinse arrives at the phrase "ewige Ordnung" does the cool, rational sound of "Ordnung" make him recall what he set out to do: he returns to familiar *Pietismus* terrain to finish his letter, with a celebration of God as the emanating source, whose grandeur is discernible in "allwirkender stiller Stärke"; in other words, showing again that whatever pleases the company around him can please him too. The underlying impression remains, however, that there is no basic conviction in Heinse's use of *Pietismus*-influenced *Empfindsamkeit* language, although elements from it, as the description of nuances of light in the Johannes painting show, appear to be used in all sincerity. Sentence 2) of the three *Empfindsamkeit* sentences in the Johannes description in fact has something of the strength of the real Heinsean spirit in it, in a kind of negative exuberance, a wallowing in the depths of terror and fear, in which the self becomes devoured:

In dir, und durch dich bin ich in Tiefen versunken;  
und bin von ihnen verschlungen worden, wie ein Nichts;<sup>122</sup>  
und bin mit Schrecken und Furcht in Thränen wieder  
daraus erwacht; und habe in dir, und durch dich  
wieder Ruhe der Seele gefunden. (IX,318)

Whereas Winckelmann, looking at the Belvedere Torso, had found, "unser *Blick* wird gleichsam mit verschlungen", Heinse here finds the whole "ich" engulfed by the contemplation. And yet, in spite, or rather because of the repeated "in dir, und durch dich", it is hard to be convinced by this fearful, tearful Heinsean persona finally finding "Ruhe der Seele". Something does not ring true about this "Sichversenken" to the point of submersion into another. Heinse is essentially self-contained without being self-absorbed. This explains why Fritz Jacobi found no response in Heinse when it came to "gegenseitige Herzensergießungen" or "die Seelen mit einander wechseln" (ZZ, p.45), or the "Fülle des Hin- und Widergebens" as Goethe formulated this experience,<sup>123</sup> to which Jacobi introduced him.

7) Susanna von Annibal Caraccio.  
(IX,321-323)

The age-blackened condition of this painting permits Heinse to display his familiarity with another fashion of his time, namely the reverence and preference for

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122. "Nichts", according to Langen (*Pietismus*, p.148) stands for "Nichtigkeit des Menschen", the last label one would expect from the self-assertive Heinse.

123. *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, dtv Gesamtausgabe 23, p.169.

ancient relics as haunting symbols of beauty, goodness, and nobility; and as reminders of the transience of human existence. However, Heinse admits, it is not just the "schauerliche Gefühl des Alterthums" which makes this painting a favourite of his, ("mein Himmelskind von Annibal"), by having turned so black that one can hardly make out the details - a state he claims to find superior to van Dyck's Susanna painting ("sein höchstes von Kolorit . . ., und noch so frisch und saftig, wie eben vom Pinsel"). What attracts him to the Carracci painting is its never-fading appeal ("der ewig neue Geist darinn, die Schönheit der Erfindung")(322)).<sup>124</sup>

The opening paragraph, describing the seated naked figure of the bathing girl, contains three of those esoteric references which in the young Heinse, for instance in his first letter to Gleim, appeared to be anxious protestations of learning in order to impress. By now they sound like Heinse's second nature:<sup>125</sup> "Das Mädchen . . . in

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124. Heinse's judgement is confirmed again by the A-Z of Art & Artists, which praises Annibale Carracci (1560-1609) for "reviving the High Renaissance practice of drawing from nature, encouraging a realistically solid sense of form" with paintings "remarkable in their directness and liveliness of observation".

125. E. Ermatinger, whose commentary on Heinse is predominantly hostile, nevertheless manages to pinpoint correctly Heinse's difference from his contemporaries in this respect:

"Aber während die andern [Schubart, Bürger, Maler Müller, die "Kraftgenies"] tief im Grunde der Natur wurzeln und Erdgeruch ihr Leben und Schaffen umströmt, ist Heinse durch eine sehr mächtige Bildungsschicht von der Erde geschieden, und er hat sich von früher Jugend bis zu seinem Tode bemüht, diese Schicht immer reicher und dichter auszubauen". (*Deutsche Dichter, 1700-1900, Erster Teil*, p.257)

der Größe der Mediceischen Venus"; "Ueber der Hüfte, in der Wellenlinie Hogarths"; "die muthwillige Hebenbrust" (322). Even in the next paragraph where Heinse really produces "Täuschung" by the gripping running commentary into which he turns the description with "Und nun ..." and four further "und"s, even here there is time for a relative clause bringing in Raphael. The verb "baddeln" (Thuringian dialect?) ideally fits the girl's unsuspecting innocence of occupation, further aided by the diminutives "Täubchen"; "Köpfchen". The watcher's animal cunning is captured by his "Fang" ("talon", not "hand") parting the leaves with predatory stealth "leise sachtchen". The signal "St!" to his companion has the menacing sound of a snake's hiss:

Und nun kommen hinter ihr her, aus den hohen Bäumen durch's Gesträuch, die zween alten Sündenböcke, mit ihren langen grauen Bärten, herangeschlichen, in Gestaltungen, die dem großen Raphael in seinem besten Alter Ehre machen würden, und blicken gierig, wie Falken nach einem weißen Täubchen, das sich das Köpfchen baddelt, ohne was Arges zu befürchten; und der Eine thut leise sachtchen das Laub beyseite mit dem linken Fang, und der Andre tritt auf den Zehen nebenher nach, und winkt mit der Rechten, den Hals und das Kinn schadenfroh vorrückend, als ob er das erste Loos gezogen, St! (322-323)

The next paragraph is one whole laudation of the artistic inventiveness of the painter. The coming into being of the idea of the painting Heinse likens - characteristically - to an act of procreation between the story and the fiery creative impulse of youth:

Wer ist der, der sich die Geschichte, wie sie ist, in eine schönere Idee denken will? Keiner noch, so oft sie gemahlt worden, hat mit ihr und dem jungen Feuergefühl seines Lebens so eins gezeugt. (323)

The last sentence in the paragraph finds the process of



"Täuschung" complete: Heinse - and the reader with him - sees the canvas as real life, resulting in the impetus to jump up in anxiety and help, to which the "Wie ..." construction lends extra tension:

Wie hier das Ganze in schönster Einfalt so an sich zieht, so bange macht, daß einem das Herz im Leibe zittert, und man aus Leibeskräften beyspringen will!

With the last sentence of the first *Gemähldebrief* Heinse takes a step back from the little-noticed darkened painting, whose painter - "unser Liebling" - was not as artful as van Dyck. The last thought, really a technical point on the tendency of paint to blacken if applied to a red (terracotta?) base, concerns, because "Erde" is involved and "verschlingen" with it, the "verzehrendwieder-neuerschaffend" concept of eternal harmony, but without the second positive, and therefore essentially Heinsean part. This leave-taking in a minor key by Heinse, whose basically optimistic outlook is unquestioned, as his vocabulary has been found to confirm,<sup>126</sup> nevertheless contains an acknowledgement of an authority to which all that lives must finally bow, as, one might say, to Atropos, the Inflexible. The last three words of *Ardinghello* are "das unerbittliche Schicksal". In the first *Gemähldebrief* that final verb "schwarz werden" bears a similar import:

Ach, liebster Freund! und da hängt es unbemerkt in der Ecke, und niemand sieht's vor den schlüpfrigen Farben des van Dyk, der die Mischung besser verstand, als unser Liebling, und sie nicht auf rothen Grund trug, auf rothe Erde, die endlich alle andre Farben, wie ein Hecht, verschlingt, und darüber schwarz wird.  
(IX, 323)

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126. Langen, *Sprachgeschichte*, column 1275

4. THE DESCRIPTIONS OF RUBENS PAINTINGS IN THE SECOND GEMÄHLDEBRIEF

The second *Gemähldebrief* (IX,328-363) contains the descriptions of five Rubens paintings, as well as the "tale" of Rubens discussed above (IX,338-341), in which Heinse employs Rubens with seeming artlessness as a protagonist for his own passionately held stance against Winckelmann, a stance he argues with great vigour (330-337). Heinse wisely limits his selection from the gallery, judging that more would be detrimental to the effect, ("weil er [Rubens] zu viel dabey verlöhre"). By way of a yardstick he claims to be following solely "in Unschuld eigenem Herz und Sinn", and to be disregarding any art critics' voices, since they are contradictory in any case, and moreover French, (De Piles, Descamps, Felibien), "aus dem Lande der Theorie, der Kritik und des Geschmacks" (344).

1) Die Flucht der Amazonen.

By the term "in die entfernteste Natur hinuntersteigen" - a preliminary necessary for the full appreciation of the painting - Heinse cleverly indicates the civilized height of the stratum of society to which he addresses himself, and its distance from Nature. The sentence from which the phrase is taken also demonstrates a characteristic of Heinse's style: a main clause which one might expect to contain an impersonal or indefinite subject plus "to be" or another verb, as e.g. "es ist ..."; "hier findet

man"; "man sieht ...", contains no verb, and no such subject. It is, strictly speaking, not a main clause, though a subordinate clause frequently depends on it:

Ein erschrecklicher Kampf zwischen den beyden Geschlechtern, wovon man nicht eher völligen Genuß haben kann, als bis man in die entfernteste Natur hinunter gestiegen. (345)

This sort of ellipsis approximates to a tendency in spoken usage when impressions are formulated. It in effect reduces the distance between writer and reader to the immediacy of speaker and listener. It means that the *impression*, here, "ein erschrecklicher Kampf", is apparently passed straight on, unencumbered by wordy ballast, and is consequently registered by the recipient with greater clarity. In a very general summing-up no focus is lost, thanks to this form:

Ein mahlerisches Schlachtgetümmel, wo der Sieg endlich sich entschieden hat. (345)

Another such summing-up is reinforced by an oxymoron: <sup>127</sup>

Ein furchtbar schönes Schauspiel, dergleichen es wenig gegeben. (345)

It helps to pinpoint the painting's underlying spirit:

Das beste vom Kriege für ein Heldenherz, die Lust nach Schweiß und Gefahr; und noch dazu mit Mädchen, die mit dem Schwerdt Männer anzugreifen sich erkühnt.

It concentrates attention on the complex expression on the face of one of the amazons:

Ein Gesicht noch voll Mordgier und Kampf, und Ergebung in alles, was ihr dabey zu Leide geschieht. (346)

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127. M.L.Baeumer (*Das Dionysische*, p.111) states that oxymora such as "sanfte Gewalt, lebendiger Tod, furchtsame Hoffnung, lustvolle Scham, zärtliche Kühnheit, hingebende Zurückhaltung" in the *Gemähldebrieft* are part of the Dionysian form, in which the paradox of contrasts is the expression of the breaking-point tension of the intoxicating experience.

Only once does Heinse supply the missing words of such a construction:

Es ist ein Stück voll heroischer Stärke aus dem Zeitalter des Theseus: nichts überladen, und alle Täuschung da, die mit Farben möglich zu machen ist.(348)

Perhaps tellingly this occurs after the magnificent recapturing in words of the whole tumultuous scene, an almost superhuman effort packed into three pages and three paragraphs and threatening to end from sheer exhaustion. "Ich mag nicht mehr beschreiben"(348), with Heinse groping, it seems, for new strength from one knows not where in order to continue. The low point of fatigue, "Ich mag nicht mehr beschreiben" (with five words the shortest sentence in the description) is preceded, as if indicative of the writer's waning energy, by the second-shortest sentence: "Der Fluß wälzt da und dort Todten auf"; the sense of weariness reinforced by the vagueness of "da und dort", and the indefinite plural "Todten", a word with in itself a negative downward drag to it. From this nadir the "Es ist" construction seems to provide Heinse by its orderly completeness with a life-line of new energy, as if in the two words "it is" there lies the reassurance needed to start afresh. This Heinse does, and now sums up the whole impact of the painting in two sentences - if one can call them this - which must surely rank among the finest examples of the innovative descriptive use of the German language ever achieved. I have arranged the continuous prose to bring out the points of emphasis:

Gewalt  
in Männerschultern und Armen und Fäusten mit dem Mordgewehr,  
und Brust und Knie;  
und in dem Bäumen,  
dem immer andern Satz und Strang und Wurf der Streitrosse.  
Feuerblick  
und Gluth des Verfolgens,  
Wuth  
und verzweifelte Rache des Entrinnenmüssens  
in höchstem Weibermuthe:  
Hauen und Stechen und Herunterreißen,  
Sturz  
in mancherley Fall und Lage samt den Rossen in den Strom,  
Bluth und Wunden,  
Schwimmen und Sterben,  
Blöße und zerhauenes Gewand und herrliche Rüstung;  
wahrstes Kolorit  
von Stärke, Wuth, und Angst, und Tod  
in Mann und Weib:  
höchstes Leben  
in vollem Schlachtgetümmel  
unter furchtbarer Leuchte zerrissenen Morgenhimmels.  
(IX, 348-349)

The passage provides a quite outstanding manifestation in language of the *Sturm und Drang* spirit; although it does not exhibit at first sight, except for the "Fülle und Kraft des Ausdrucks"<sup>128</sup> any of the characteristics normally associated with that period. It is neither "gestammelt" nor "auf das Papier gewühlt",<sup>129</sup> nor fragmented; contains no exclamation marks or dashes; no elision. It is not "Leidenschaftssprache"<sup>130</sup> in the usual application of the term, namely, language used to demonstrate and draw attention to the presence of Feeling, often an abundance of it, in the speaker. The speaker here

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128. Langen, *Sprachgeschichte*, col.1097.

129. Ibid., col.1121.

130. Wilhelm Waetzold is quite wrong to apply these terms to the *Gemähldebriefe*, which he finds close to the writing of the young Goethe. Goethe's essay on the Straßburg Cathedral is "Leidenschaftssprache" in my definiton above.

and his emotional state are immaterial,<sup>131</sup> all focus is directed onto the painting. The link with the spirit of *Sturm und Drang* lies in its being one great celebration of Storm in the sense of dissonance, strife and turmoil, combat, trials of strength to the death between man and man, or here, bolder still, between the sexes; war horses in their great strength adding a dimension of storminess of their own. So great is the effort expended on bringing home to the reader the full impact of the work of art on the beholder that the elements of normal sentence construction are thrown to the winds. This liberty itself reflects the new freedom with which the *Sturm und Drang* writer handles language, matching as it were in articulation the breaking of restraints which became the goal with the emerging greater emphasis on the individual. As if symbolically mirroring this new freer flexing of linguistic muscles Heinse's first choice from the Rubens paintings is the *Battle of the Amazons*, an orgy of powerfully tensed and engaged muscles in man and beast, and thus by implication storm-related. The first word/concept, stark, unadorned "Gewalt", captures it all, with no fewer than nine points of muscular concentration of man or horse radiating from it. No reader can fail to register the sheer "Wucht" of dynamic strength the word is thus invested with. (The sound of the German word "Wucht" here better conveys the impression than

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131. Heinse's stipulation, discussed above, that the writer has to be a "Fühler" to be capable of having the work of art produce "Täuschung" for him, and for him in turn to produce it in others, cannot be deduced as such from the passage itself.

the English "weight", or "impetus".) Compounds add intensification: *men's* shoulders, *war* horses, weapons which kill and defend. Verbs as such are non-existent, yet powerfully present as past participle adjectives, "verzweifelt, zerhauen, zerrissen", and, most strikingly, as nouns, demonstrating the "Nominalstil" which Montenbruck and Langen noted at its most pronounced. There are not only established verb-derived nouns like "Satz, Wurf, Fall, Sturz, Lage", but substantivized infinitives like "Bäumen, Verfolgen, Hauen, Stechen, Herunterreißen", all contributing by accumulation and polysyndeton-massing (Langen, col.1138) to the dynamic impact. With the extra empathy of a musical ear Heinse manages to convey even the higher pitch, the more highly-strung-sounding, more feminine note of the amazons' despairing rage and courage while fleeing, by the high "i-ü" vowels of "des Entrinnenmüssens", a word with a thinly stretched-out sound to it like taut nerves at breaking-point. All these substantivized infinitives are neuter, yet "Leuchte" in the final ten-word supreme condensing of the essence of the painting is feminine, although, as Goethe shows below,<sup>132</sup> the neuter form "Leuchten" existed. It might, if used here, have weakened the phrase "höchstes Leben", might have taken attention away from it by dint of the equalizing assonance of the "-en" ending. This the feminine form

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132. "Auch das ist Kunst, ist Gottesgabe, / Aus ein paar sonnenhellen Tagen / Sich so viel Licht ins Herz zu tragen, / Daß wenn der Sommer längst verweht, / Das Leuchten immer noch besteht." Wandspruch, reference not known.

avoids, and the dreadful light of the storm-torn morning sky remains only the backcloth and allows greatest emphasis on the tumultuous display of "höchstes Leben", the phrase which follows immediately upon "Tod in Mann und Weib" - thus triumphantly absorbing Death within it. It is that same positive Heinsean outlook which made him jot down already in 1774:

Das Leben zehrt den Tod auf;  
und nicht der Tod das Leben. (VIII,1,14)

Langen (col.1138) calls Heinse's description of the *Battle of the Amazons* a "Seitenstück" to the description of the Rhine falls. This is correct in the light of my own findings that the latter is the masterpiece of Heinse's quite extraordinary reporting talent which will be discussed in Chapter III. It is worth noting that in both works the phrase "es ist" plays a very important part. Heinse calls the spectacle of the Rhine falls "die allerhöchste Stärke, der wüthendste Sturm des größten Lebens, das menschliche Sinnen fassen können", (X,369. There is no doubt that these two descriptions mark the high points of all that sets Heinse apart from Winckelmann's ideal of "Stille", and that this can be derived from the natural phenomenon as much as from the work of art. Heinse's achievement goes far beyond merely criticising the stultifying effect he saw as resulting from following Winckelmann. With this description he points the way out of the impasse by its inherent exhortation to make Life - stormy, enthralling Life - the criterion for artistic creativity. In this way the description represents a glorious extension to the scope



of *Sturm und Drang*. Moreover, with the description of the *Flucht der Amazonen* Heinse achieved what R. Benz memorably termed a "Durchbruch des eigensten Sagen-Könnens selbst", evidence of a "kongeniale Sprachgewalt"<sup>133</sup>. What this amounts to is that Heinse may be ranked among the masters of the German language, one of the writers who have raised the possibilities of the language to new unforgettable heights, an enrichment for which contemporaries and posterity alike owe them a debt of gratitude.

By way of a small appendix here is a list of noun and verb constructions from the central part of the description, in order to show the prevalence of "storm"-related terms, and also to demonstrate that although nouns do predominate, the wealth of dynamically charged verbs plays an equally vital role in the style.

Nouns:

Kampf, Schlachtgetümmel, Wuth, Krieg für ein Heldenherz, die Lust nach Schweiß und Gefahr, Empörerinnen wider die Rechte der Natur, furchtbar schönes Schauspiel, Getümmel der Flucht, Streitmasse, fliegende Mähnen, in die Höhe, Dampf aus der Nase, das blutige Beil, den Verfolgern entgegen, Krieger, die Erschlagenen, Sturz, Hieb, Mordgewehr in der Faust, Gesicht voll Mordgier und Kampf, Fall, Wellenschlag, eine vom Sturz in die Tiefe Geschlagene, in Entsetzen, aus aller Macht, in die Höhe, Wuth und Mordgier, Schwerdt in der Rechten, aus Leibeskräften, Schlachtbeil in der Faust, Grimm über Tyrannen und Schicksal, Bitterkeit des nahen Todes, Wurfpeil, in voller Amazonischer Freyheit und Eigenmacht, Kopfspalter, größte Gegenwart des Geistes, Thränen, Schaam und Zorn, Schwerdt, aufgehabner [sic] Arm, Sehnen, im Treffen Gebliebene, Schlagschatten von der größten Wirkung, Herabstürzen, Schwimmen, Retten, Durchschwimmen, Kämpfen, Ersauften, Freund und Feind untereinander, in der Ferne Kriegsheere, eine Stadt in loher Flamme.

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133. *Wilhelm Heinse. Aus Briefen, Werken, Tagebüchern*, pp. 12 - 13.

Verbs:

Unterliegen, geschlagen werden, auf der Flucht sein, nachsetzen, gefangen genommen werden, ermordet werden, nicht fackeln, wieder ermorden, angreifen, sich erkühnen, setzen von (of horses), scheu und wild seyn, in die Höhe sträuben, Zähne fletschen, schnauben, ausschlagen, entflammt seyn, Kopf abhauen, Feinde abhalten, Brücke abbrechen, greifen nach, nicht lassen wollen, kämpfen, stürzen, Blut fließen, Hinterfüße von sich strecken, in den Strom platschen, sich zu retten suchen, niederschlagen, sich wegwenden, stürzen, erschlagen liegen, sich wehren, zurückreißen, sich bäumen, arbeiten an, festhalten, aushohlen, gehalten werden, erstechen, den Wurfspieß richten auf, gesprengt kommen, in die Fluth setzen, einen Kopfspalter ziehen, stechen, vor Schaam und Zorn brennen, fliehen müssen, stechen, Sehnen springen und bluten, gespießt werden, ausziehen, Beute machen, hinwerfen, wegzerren, in's Wasser schütteln, Schlagschatten werfen, erheben, beleben, in loher Flamme stehen, Todte aufwälzen. (345, §3-348, §1)

2) Sanherib. (IX, 350-353)

Heinse builds up anticipatory tension for this description in two ways: he starts by re-telling the tale of Sanherib's fate in biblical style with inversion:

daß ihre Feinde werden sollten wie das grüne Kraut zum Heu auf den Dächern, das verdorret, ehe es denn reif wird. Und in derselben Nacht fuhr aus der Engel des Herrn . . . ." (350)

He then conjectures on the likely execution of the theme of the painting by run-of-the-mill painters ("neunundneunzig andere") in an archaic tone which clearly indicates how far behind Rubens they are. They would envisage a battlefield:

mit einem Häuflein Ueberbliebenen, die sich bey Anbruch des Morgens höchlich darob verwunderten. (351)

And, scathingly sure of the feebleness of their imagination and its incongruity, Heinse ends: "Und in der fernen

Dämmerung irgend einen Scharfrichter mit Schwanenflügeln". Now, with: "Nicht also Rubens", Heinse is ready, and with a directness as if pulling aside a curtain recreates the magnificent painting step-by-step. How one would like to be able to point out what is happening here to Wilhelm Sömmerring, who mused on the fact that Heinse never felt driven "sich in einer der bildenden Künste zu versuchen". (ZZ, p.50) Here is the evidence again of Heinse as a "bildender Künstler", the words amazingly forming the painting into printed letters without apparent loss in the transfer: rapid brush strokes paint in the thundery sky - no time for a verb like "ist" - a dash transfers attention to the angel, the second important element, without the break of a full stop, (though the next and the following statement begin with capital letters). Again there is no verb, just the powerful triple thrust of "herunter/ in die Nacht/ auf die Feinde". After the stormy, black, lightning-torn sky and the angel comes the air itself: "Luftraum" gives it a three-dimensional depth, bright as day from flames and the fire of revenge. It *could not* be more concisely said:

Ein schwarzer Donnerwolkenhimmel von Wetterstrahlen  
zerrissen - Der Engel herunter in die Nacht auf  
die Feinde - Der Luftraum steht in Flammen, und  
alles ist taghell, wohin die Rache brennt. (351)

With the next (verbless) sentence Heinse gets right into the *atmosphere* of the painting, like the painter placing all his colours in readiness on his palette:

Ein großes erhabenes Bild vom Zorne des Mächtigen mit  
allem Schrecken und Grausen, fürchterlich lebendig  
im sinnlichsten Augenblicke.

Then the craftsman-like description of the scene of slaughter starts in earnest: "herausschlottern" for Sanherib's backwards fall from the saddle ("hinterrücks über's Kreuz"). The dead, as if Heinse had been able to touch them, and the action had only just taken place, are "ein Hauffen Erschlagener, noch warm todt", and, with the gruesome realism of a disaster photograph, yet poetic, ("schon verblichen"):

schon verblichen im stillstehenden Wetter zwischen  
Rossen und von Rossen zertreten, worunter dieser  
und jener in der Höllenangst sich zu verbergen sucht.

The horror on the face of Sanherib gets a whole paragraph to itself. Heinse gives extra weight to the way Sanherib's pride is smashed to pulp by the "derbe" *Sturm und Drang* word "Kerl" which he rarely uses; "Löwenstärke" is an old favourite:

Ein Gesicht voll lebendigen Todes, ohne Besinnung, wie  
eines in der Fluth Untergehenden. Das Entsetzen in den  
aufgesperrten Augen und der ausgedehnten Stirn, die  
Losgelassenheit der Furcht und Angst in allen Muskeln  
am ofnen Munde, der Stolz überall an dem grausamen Kerl  
zu Brey an die Wand geschmettert, ist mehr vielleicht,  
als der berühmte Kopf des Maxentius: ist Löwenstärke  
von Einbildungskraft. (352)

"Löwenstärke von Einbildungskraft" must be the highest accolade a *Stürmer und Dränger* could bestow on a kindred spirit! The analogy of the experience of horror with that of drowning, as in Sanherib's face, may owe its origin to the face of one of the amazons, surfacing after falling:

Zur Linken steigt seitwärts der Kopf einer vom Sturz in  
die Tiefe Geschlagenen in Entsetzen wie ertrunken  
hervor. (IX, 347)

It is intriguing to note Heinse speaking disparagingly

of the two-dimensional limitation to which his verbal medium confines him - which of course applies to a canvas as well:

Dieß ist nur das äußerste Fläche von der großen Idee. Das Leben, die schier handgreifliche Natur überall darinn muß man selbst sehen; davon läßt sich nichts mit Worten melden. (352)

The honesty with which Heinse, who knows the extent of his own talent very well and never belittles it, here declares himself defeated by the immediacy and life of Rubens's painting, cannot fail to impress the reader. This all the more so as Heinse is so very obviously wrong: the reader is not left feeling that he needs to see the painting for himself, all the "schier handgreifliche Natur" and the "Leben" have been absorbed and transmitted "mit Worten", with, as Kaltenbrunner aptly puts it, "einer beinahe schon distanzlosen Einfühlung". (Appendix 1; 31)).

Heinse leaves no challenging aspect untried: for instance the profusion of the painting's presentation makes the singling out of detail hard and finds him massing abstracts in response:

Das Daseyn eines jeden der andern bey der Scene, das Vergehen der Menschen, und das Bäumen und Stürzen und gräßlich Scheuwerden der Pferde, die Gegenwart, die Einheit des Ganzen ist solchergestalt, daß man dabey an nichts denken, und auch nichts einzelnes in Beschreibung herausheben kann. (353)

The colouring receives his attention, "kräftig und wahr", mirroring the painter's inner fire: "der Pinsel so leicht und in Gewalt dem Feuer der Seele gleich geführt". What E.Hock says in the context of sculpture, namely, that Heinse "versetzt sich gleichsam ins Innere" of the present-

ation applies also to the treatment of the Rubens paintings.<sup>134</sup> Heinse senses the inner fire which so delicately controlled Rubens's brush because the same creative process is also at work within himself.

3) Die Entführung der Töchter des Leukippos von den Dioskuren.  
(IX, 354-359)

It appears from the quite lengthy (two-page) opening of this description that it was Heinse who stumbled - via the *Idylls* of Theocritus - onto the true identity of the figures in the painting. Heinse manages to exploit this fact by turning it into a small cameo of *Sturm und Drang* closeness to the great outdoors, combined with its familiarity concerning the writings of the "ancients":<sup>135</sup>

Heute früh geh ich auf's Feld, und stecke den Theokrit in die Tasche; gerath auf einer Anhöh an einem Bach unter eine hohe schattige Eiche, wodurch der Wind spielte, und pflanze mich in's Grüne; . . . und stoß endlich mit der Nase auf die Entführung der Töchter des Leykippos von den Dioskuren, und finde das verlorne Gemählde. (355)

This passage indeed typifies the *Sturm und Drang* tone. Apart from the features already mentioned it owes its immediacy to the present-tense narrative; it has apocope

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134. Postscript to *Ardinghello* Leipzig (1962) edition, p.358.

135. Cf. Werther, (Part I, 21 June): "Wenn ich so des Morgens mit Sonnenaufgange hinausgehe nach meinem Wahlheim, und dort im Wirthsgarten mir meine Zukkererbsen selbst pflükke, mich hinsetze, und sie abfädme und dazwischen lese ich meinen Homer."

and elision, ("geh; gerath; stoß; Anhöh; auf's; in's") and the colloquial "mit der Nase stoßen auf". On the same page there is a down-to-earth interspersion: "Aber genug und satt davon"; and, with more apocope, the popular possessive pronoun in "in unserm Gemähld".<sup>136</sup> Heinse also makes all the topical hay he can out of his "find" by making it fit into the Romantic notion of the discovery of lost treasure, calling it dramatically "das verlohrene Gemähld". This introduction in *Sturm und Drang* language brings an air of youthful freshness to the description; the emphasis on nature implies a re-statement of the distance to Winckelmann, and also to the hated, dry, over-scholarly breed of "Kunstrichter" in general. All this does not impinge on the essential language of the description itself which, although it draws much of its inherent strength from the *Sturm und Drang* spirit, (as do also the other descriptions), yet has that unique quality about it which one can really only sum up as "Heinsean". Take for instance the cohabitation in one sentence of the words "Dame" and the word, already noted earlier, "Hintern"; all this without a hint of the irony Heinrich Heine would have imparted here, and quite without innuendo. Heinse describes with a kind of innocence, but with utter certainty<sup>137</sup> what he sees, in this case

136. Langen (1098) points out the special role of the poss.pron. in the context of the language of irrationalism which expresses the inner ("seelische") relationship between speaker and subject, whether friend, Nature or something else, "mein Jacobi, mein Tal, mein Homer". Langen sees the poss.pron. paralleling the development of subjectivism, already in *Empfindsamkeit* and then, to excess, in *Sturm und Drang*. Langen quotes Lichtenberg's biting criticism of the practice. (1099)

137. Karl Rosenkranz's impression. (RA, 577)

in the bejewelled naked figure clearly not a country girl, but a lady, who is therefore not plainly "nackt", but,utterly genteel: "ganz entblößt". At the same time the setting is out in the open ("auf freyem Felde"). The "Hintern" is incorporated into the description in a perfectly business-like manner as giving off a beautiful reflected light ("der einen schönen Widerschein wirft") [from the supporting red cloth]. All this produces exactly that juxtaposition of fleshiness and delicacy of the female figure which characterises Rubens's work.

Again Heinse pleads the shortcomings of the verbal medium to do justice to the arrangement of the figures, (356). Yet it is this description which encompasses some of Heinse's most memorable artistry with words. Again the present participle helps to create the illusion that the event described is just at this moment in the process of unfolding. Thus the second female figure stands:

erstaunt sich sträubend und den Rücken in die Seite krümmend, mit dem Gesichte nach dem Kastor sehend, und mit der Linken ihren Räuber etwas von sich haltend.(356)

The complexity of Kastor's expression is brought out similarly by Heinse through the present participle, which also for extra focus appears substantivized:

Die erhabene Stirn, das in süßer Begierde Wollust ziehende Auge, . . . machen einen reizenden Räuber. . . . Das Bittende, die Zärtlichkeit ist unbeschreiblich: die Kühnheit in dem über den Augen Hervorgehenden der Stirn, und die Blüthe der Stärke. (357)

The inward emotional pressure set up in the first female figure by the tingling excitement which overlays her embarrassment and shuts out rational thought is mirrored outwardly as well. Again the present participle is involved:



Schaam und das süßstechende Gefühl derselben, und  
Aussenbleiben der Ueberlegung. Die Brüste schwellen  
sich empor in der drängenden Lage. (357)

Heinse lauds Rubens for the expression on her face:  
"unbeschreiblich fürtrefflich". It is its ambivalence,  
the conflicting emotions with their extra life-imbuing  
tension and thus their underlying "stormy" quality ("Zwey-  
kampf") which fascinate Heinse. That is the conclusion  
to be drawn from the various formulations, which display  
not only Heinse's ability to change "Augensinn" into  
"Gefühlssinn", but also an astonishing psychological  
understanding of the feminine psyche.

The conflict of emotions (with my dividing mark):

Schaam/ und das süßstechende Gefühl derselben  
Sie wendet das Gesicht/ und schielt doch zurück  
furchtsame/ Hoffnung künftiger Freuden  
Furcht/ und Liebe  
Zweykampf zwischen Moral/ und Natur  
Um die Augen das Bange/ und Süße  
um die Lippen das Weinen/ und Lächeln. (357)

Also:

[Kastor] hat wider ihren Willen mehr Liebesgewalt  
über sie/ als ihr Bräutigam, aber doch geht ihr  
dessen Schicksal nahe.

In beyden ist Uebergang von einem Glück/ zu einem größern  
Furcht/ und Hoffnung  
noch Mond und Stern im Herzen/ und Aufgang und Sonne  
vor den Augen. (358)

Heinse sums up the passive pose of the female figure  
who is literally suspended in mid-air and also at the  
point of exchanging one state for another by substantivizing  
in a most innovative manner the passive verb-construction  
"gepflückt werden": "Ihr Leib schwebt wie eine Rose  
im Gepflücktwerden". (358) The hackneyed rose metaphor  
for feminine beauty takes on new life, not without a shade

of realistic sombreness.<sup>138</sup> There is another remarkable verb-plus-"werden" construction in the description:

Die Jungfrauen sind . . . in Jugendfülle,  
die im Zeitigwerden ist. (357)<sup>139</sup>

Rubens can hardly ever have had a more sympathetic interpretation of the ripe fullness of his female figures. Both substantivizings, by fusing the verb elements, direct greater attention to the process involved, and in the second example the form imparts urgency.

So completely does Heinse transmit the life-like quality of the painting that he puts words into the mouths of the figures: an apologetic whisper from Kastor for the hurt he must inflict, and a sigh from the female figure: "Ha, nun bist du weg! . . . er hat dich!" The forthrightness and brevity of her assessment of the situation, with only a tiny portion of regret ("Ha") sounds convincing coming from the sturdy, surprised, but unresisting figure Heinse describes. Kastor on the other hand ("der junge Halbgott, der das goldne Vließ zurückgebracht und den Archipelagos von den Räubern befreit") speaks with tender affection, yet in a measured tone, befitting his exalted status:

Ach, daß ich dir Leid thun muß! . . . aber es war nicht möglich, daß du die Meine nicht seyn solltest! (357)

It is significant that Heinse speculates approvingly on the way Rubens singles out Kastor as the "Hauptperson" in the painting, above Pollux, who looks lowly, almost

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138. As also in Goethe's *Heidenröslein*.

139. "Werden" here of course means "to become".

like a slave, with the face of a boxer ("Klopffechtergesicht"). Heinse may well have seen in the figure of Kastor a personification of the sort of exceptional being he himself promotes, above the mediocre, as here presented by Pollux. Rubens may have given Heinse something of a prototype for the figure of Ardinghello of ten years later, especially as the novel was written in Düsseldorf. Certainly there are striking similarities:

Kastor:

Ardinghello:

Die Hauptperson in unserm  
Gemähld

Sein Bild wich den ganzen  
Tag nicht aus meiner Seele

Kastors Gesicht ist wahr-  
haftig schöne männliche  
Jugend

Seine Jugend stand eben  
in schönster Blüthe

die Blüthe der Stärke

der junge Halbgott

wie ein höheres Wesen

im aufgesproßten  
braunen krausen Barte

um Mund und Kinn flog stark  
der liebliche Bart an

die Lippen voll Gluth

die frischen Lippen

die Kühnheit in dem über  
den Augen Hervorgehenden  
der Stirn

mit einer kühnen Wildheit

Inbrunst leuchtet  
überall hervor

die Augen sprühen  
Licht und Feuer. (IV, 8; RA, 9)

All the Rubens paintings so far have been representations of "höchstes Leben" in Heinse's sense: the amazons in their battle to the death, defiant to the last; Sanherib receiving terrible divine revenge - the point of greatest dissonance between the forces of good and evil; and the abduction, the battle between morality and Nature, with Nature's victory not in doubt, as M. Dick (p.222) makes clear.

The third description ends with the deceptively simple statement: "Die Figuren sind beinah in Lebensgröße". (359) This allows the last word to take shape and linger unhindered in the mind of the reader, like a final chord on the piano held by the sustaining pedal, and with the realisation of the size of the figures - almost the same size as the reader, a fact to which he can relate - comes a renewed final experience of "Täuschung" in Heinse's sense, of being grasped by their immediacy. Not only that, but by association, through "Lebensgröße", the impression of the tremendous life-element in the painting is rekindled unforgettably.

4) Der Regenbogen, eine Landschaft. (IX, 359-361)

Even in this description of a calm scene there is peripherally evidence of "storminess", although the "warmes schwüles Gewitter mit Blitz und Strahl"<sup>140</sup> und Schlag" has passed, and the polysyndeton ends in benevolence with "und Regenguß". The rejoicing of Nature after the storm, the subject of the painting, is led by the rainbow, "der an dem einen End in einen lustigen Wald steigt". This description of the wood as "merry" and of the rainbow as "climbing into" it are examples of a new prominence of subjective and dynamic elements

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140. "Blitz und Strahl" is not a form of tautology but rather shows Heinse's fine distinction between the flash of sheet lightning ("Blitz") and the linear forked lightning, with a seemingly emanating source ("Strahl").

in landscape description, features which according to A. Langen developed particularly in the *Geniezeit*.<sup>141</sup> With the opening invitation to picture for oneself the most beautiful and fertile Flemish landscape ("Gegend") Heinse lays the foundation for a series of altogether nine dependent clauses which emerge - with a semblance of organic growth - one out of the other, as also one detail after the other reveals itself to the eye of a viewer: from "Gegend", "Gewitter", "Regenbogen", "Wald", "Fluß", "Hirt", "Rinder", finally to "Enten":

... Flammändische Gegend, über die ... Gewitter,  
in dessen ... Regenbogen, der in ... Wald ..., in  
welchem ... : Wovon ... Anhöhe, hinter welcher  
... Fluß, woran ein Hirt, der ... Rinder, ...,  
die ..., und an dessen Ufern ... Enten ... .(359)

Why does Heinse choose a construction like this, when earlier he had deemed it necessary to apologize for all the interpolations, parentheses, conjunctions and relative particles? It clearly is a deliberate choice here since halfway through the sentence he places a colon where a full stop might have been expected, and continues with yet another "Beziehungssylbe", "Wovon", to which, however, he gives a capital. There must then be a purpose behind this construction with its long-drawn-out shape. It becomes apparent as the sentence

141. Langen (1131-1133) notes an increasingly subjectivised vocabulary in connection with nature descriptions in the 18th century. Apart from the already mentioned poss. pron., e.g. "mein Tal", there is also the appearance of the Lutheran "lieb": "das liebe Tal", or Maler Müller's "das süße Blau des Himmels". "Ein lustiger Wald" could be added to this list. Langen singles out Maler Müller's biblical idyll "Adams erstes Erwachen und erste selige Nächte" of 1778, in which dynamic verbs abound: "Die Wälder steigen und sinken, Felsen bücken sich," etc.

unfolds its elements one after the other, and with it the Flemish countryside spreads itself out more and more in all its expansive breadth before the reader. The long construction is a faithful mirror of it, and each dependent clause settles, snug and yet free, into its own place, contributing small highlights in the great over-all pattern. It is incapsulation, but used with craftsman-like deliberate precision, not to be confused with mere self-indulgent stylistic ramblings<sup>142</sup>. The dependent clauses moreover, nearly all contain a suggestion of *roundness* within them, which infuses an air of cosy rustic intimacy into the broad linear sweep of the main theme: the rainbow has a reflection "rund herum"; the attribute "lustig" somehow takes any idea of stiff straightness out of the trees in the wood; the "Trüppel Bäume" conjures up a (round) cluster by the "-el" rounded-off ending; the river comes along "krumm herum"; the cattle "stehen herum"; and the ducks are enjoying themselves on the riverbank "an der Krümme weiter her". Heinse himself speaks later in the description of "diesem herzlichen Gefühl im Ganzen, das alles so warm in sich hegt" (360; my italics).

Heinse appears at one point in this long construction to have forgotten to provide a verb for one of the clauses: "woran ein Hirt,". This, in view of Heinse's

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142. Heinse has no use for them: of a book by v. Blankenberg he says: "Sehr gute, aber bisweilen, und nicht nur bisweilen, sondern immer entsetzlich weitschweifige und oft sehr trivial ausgeschriebene Perioden sind darinnen". (To Klammer Schmid, 8 July 1774; IX, 222)

usually careful attention to syntax, is unlikely. He must have felt that the verb of the preceding "wovon" clause: "zu sehen ist" is sufficiently near to serve "Hirt" as well, or, the clause is: "woran ein Hirt . . . seine Rinder hervorgetrieben". In that case the "der" after Hirt interferes, since it wants to form a separate clause "der . . . seine Rinder hervorgetrieben":

Wovon linker Hand des Gemählde noch ein Trüppel Bäume auf einer mooßigten Anhöhe zusehen ist, hinter welcher dazwischendurch krumm herum ein klarer Fluß hervor sich wässert, woran ein Hirt, der, wie der Himmel wieder heiter wird, seine Rinder hervorgetrieben, die herum stehen, und hinein gehen, und darinn auf ihre Furcht trinken und sich abspiegeln; . . . (359)

This pouncing on a possible small oversight seems pedantic and Beckmesser-like, when the whole first paragraph "spricht und lebt einen an, . . . wie aus wirklicher Natur"(360), to apply the term with which Heinse sums up his own impression of the painting to the impression of his language here. There are no substantivized verbs or adjectives <sup>143</sup> in the first paragraph. It is as if Heinse wants his style to flow here as naturally as possible without imposing such stylistic sophistications which might jar with the pleasant simplicity of the country life depicted. Towards the end of the paragraph the normal strength of Heinse's style begins to reassert itself with the verbless statement: "Darneben eine in voller Frucht stehende Saat". The next paragraph, with four substantivations and four present participles is unmistakably Heinse:

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143. Excepting "die Ferne", established as general usage.

Die wiederkommende Helle, die Frische, der aufsteigende Duft über Gras und Blatt, das Naß auf den herabsinkenden Zweigen, der Seegen des Herrn in Saat und Feld, der stärkende Geist der aufgethanen Fruchtbarkeit, spricht und lebt einen an, der des Gemahlten nicht unkundig ist, wie aus wirklicher Natur. (360)<sup>144</sup>

It is striking how Heinse feels attuned to Rubens's painterly technique, how in fact by a close-up of his work he is able to emphasise both Rubens's boldness in achieving certain effects and his, Heinse's, own awareness and approval of it. Already in the *Sanherib* description he approved of the natural wood being left unpainted except for the varnish where this brought out the figure "unverbesserlich"(353). Now he points out to any self-opinionated painter ("der sich etwas einbildet"), the superiority of Rubens's impressionistically executed rainbow ("der unausgemahlte Regenbogen"). He sets his allegiance with Rubens against that of the followers of Van der Werff and his over-worked paintings, whom (by analogy with "eingebildet"?) he terms, amusingly: "die EingeVanderWerftierten". This amounts

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144. M. Dick convincingly demonstrates the continuity between Heinse's earliest poem of 1766 (I,3) and this writing. There (Dick, p.20) the line "Ueber allen Blüthen brütet Seegen" already clashes with conventional Rococo poetry, directing the eye on to objective natural forces of growth and flourishing. This thought of the "aufgethanen...Fruchtbarkeit", of "Seegen...in Saat und Feld" Dick sees as now central to Heinse's experience of landscape. In this way by analogy with verbs like "anwehen", "angehen", "andringen" the neological "anleben" expresses, according to Dick, no longer just the enjoyment of the sweet scented breeze ("Süße Düffte wallen mir entgegen!" (I,3)) but "der aufsteigende Duft" here, like "Helle", "Frische", "Naß", are part of the whole life of Nature welling up, experienced in its fullness. (Dick, p.222)



to an indirect, but strong, anti-Winckelmann reassertion of his own position: on the side of Nature, left as free and uncontrived ("ungemacht") as possible:

Die Bäume sind . . . so erkennbar in Stamm und Zug und Laub und Bewegung, so lebendig und ungemacht in ihrer Grüne. . . . Die Saat reift allmählig heran, und steht in dichten Halmen vom Regen geschwängert; und wenn man's am Holz sieht, ist's weiter nichts als grüner und gelber Strich. (360-361)

Earlier (360) Heinse had marvelled at the lightness and speed with which Rubens was able to work:

Dieses Meisterstück von Pinsel, ob er gleich schwerlich länger als einen Tag daran gearbeitet hat, und die Farbe so leicht und dünn aufgetragen ist, wie Buchstabe.

Here Heinse strengthens the analogy between his own tool of trade ("Buchstabe") and that of Rubens ("Pinsel") in the conception of the gifted creative artist who is after all attempting to capture a moment in fleeting time, where any impression of lengthy labouring ("Fleiß") will interfere with the illusion. In this same spirit, after seeing a painting by Teniers in Rome, he notes down: "Fleißig ausgeführt.", and then continues:

Jedes Bild muß leicht weg gemacht scheinen, weil es nur einen Moment Zeit, oder gar keine enthält. Aller Fleiß stört in der Täuschung, man darf gar keinen merken, es muß wie hingezaubert seyn. Wie eine schöne Phantasie im Kopf auf einmal an die Wand; Ein Blick verträgt sich nicht mit Spuren von jahrelanger Arbeit. (VIII,1,371)

Winckelmann seems at first to disagree with this view.<sup>145</sup>

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145."Das Kolorit erhält seine Schönheit durch eine fleißige Ausführung: denn die vielen Abweichungen der Farben, und ihre Mitteltinten, sind nicht geschwinde gefunden und gesetzt. Alle großen Maler haben nicht geschwinde gearbeitet, und die Raffaelische Schule, ja alle großen Koloristen, haben ihre Werke auch in der Nähe zu betrachten gemacht." (KS,173)

Then, however, Winckelmann outlines the deficiencies of a certain kind of "Fleiß", and shows<sup>146</sup> that his view and Heinse's can be very similar at times - a reminder that although Heinse may be "der bedeutendste Antipode Winckelmanns", as M.Dick (p.10) calls him, this does not mean utter disagreement on every point by any means.

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146. Winckelmann speaks of "fleißig geendigte und geleckte Gemähld, welche peinlich und verzagt gearbeitet sind, und sich mehr durch Fleiß, als durch wahres Wissen anpreisen." (KS,173)

It is difficult to work one's way through the welter of "von diesen", "von andern, als welche", "jene aber...", "... als jener", "von dieser Art ...", "von der andern Art" in Winckelmann's writing; but he seems to be referring to Van der Werff's *Abnehmung vom Kreuze* as "fleißig geendigt und geleckt", so that he and Heinse stand together here, united as anti-"EingeVanderWerftierte".

(R.H.Fuchs calls the paintings of Adriaen van der Werff (1659-1722) "slick", and states that with him Dutch painting moved away from the proud, native realism which had characterised it in the first half of the century. *Dutch Painting*, (1978), p.80.)

It is only fair to point out that to credit Heinse with the "Wiederentdeckung von Rubens" (R.Terras,p.14; R.Benz,p.13) is not quite correct. Winckelmann, though much more muted and critical of Rubens's draughtsmanship, which he found too realistic, *did* draw attention admiringly to Rubens's treatment of flesh and his colouring:

Sein Fleisch gleicht der Röte der Finger, welche man gegen die Sonne hält, und sein Kolorit ist gegen jene [Correggio and Titian] wie das echte Porzellan gegen eine durchsichtige Glaskomposition. (KS,173-174)

One stylistic point may also be added here concerning the extension of "to be" by an abstract noun (or two) which has been noted above as a feature of Heinse's style. Of the flesh colours of Correggio and Titian Winckelmann says: "ihr Fleisch ist Wahrheit und Leben". Perhaps Heinse was influenced by this.

5) Rubens mit seiner ersten Frau, in Lebensgröße, in einem Garten. (IX, 361-363)

It is not surprising that Heinse gave pride of place to this self-portrait of Rubens by making it the last of his descriptions, for here is the creator of the scenes of "wirkliche Natur" and "höchstes Leben"; and here too is the personification of an exceptional man: "ein großer Mensch":

Rubens erscheint hier als ein großer Mensch, voll Leben und Verstand, voll Saft und Kraft, und frey von schwacher, vielleicht auch zarter Empfindung. Alles an ihm ungewöhnlicher Geist in seltener Mannheit. (362) (My italics)

Heinse expresses his conviction of the superiority of this personality by summing up the figure of the pretty little wife in one strongly condensed subordinate clause, stressing by three "durch"s grouped around "Ihn" and her position "unter ihm sitzend" that he is above the normal, which she represents:

[Er hat die rechte Hand auf dem übergeschlagenen Beine liegen], auf welche sein durch Ihn durch und durch frohes und freundliches und sittsames neben und unter ihm sitzendes schönes Weibchen die ihrige zarte mit der Fläche sanft auflegt. (361)

The fact that they appear at the peak of youthful happiness, she, "wie eine Rose in der Morgensonne der Liebe", he, "wie die Natur in frischer Fruchtbarkeit", stirs in Heinse's mind also the thought of the transience of the joys of youth: "und doch geheimer Gedanke der Vergänglichkeit aller Lust der Jugend" (362). He may here be simply intoning the ancient topos of the Wheel of Fortune, which decrees that perfect contentment ("Wohlbehagen seines Zustands") (362), cannot but diminish. A whiff

of inherited *Barock* awareness of the inevitability of decay, especially in the presence of youth and beauty, could also account for it. So, too, could Heinse's belief that in the cycle "Keim, Blüthe, Frucht" the last ("frische Fruchtbarkeit" above) also marks the turning point to decay: "Mit der Frucht hat die Schönheit ein Ende"(IX,290). Like the last sentence of *Ardinghello* and the ending of the first *Gemähldebrief* the phrase shows that Heinse's thought is not without its sombre hue, untypical though it is in the overall dominance of sunny optimism.

The details of the handsome figure of Rubens contain elements already familiar from the "Genie" as projected by Heinse, such as "fire", strength, and upward-striving restless energy: "lichtbraune Feueraugen", "Herz . . . mit Löwenstärke genährt", "sichfühlende Stärke", "der junge Eichstamm von Barth", "Adlerliebe zum Aufflug". Yet Heinse is clearly reaching out *beyond* the "Genie" figure. The capitalisation "Ihn" in the last long quotation above (treatment reserved for God, or for a person of exalted standing), is an indication of this. There is in this self-portrait of the great painter a semblance of the divine, in the way his supremacy over his illusory images of the biblical God and heroic myth is evident and radiates forth.(362) To direct the reader's attention onto the god-like quality of this Great Man Heinse speaks in an inversion-aided tone of the belief that the transfigured will behold God: "So sagt die Schrift, daß die Verklärten dereinst werden Gott schauen"(362).

Then, without needing to resort to further explanation of what is happening to him, Heinse lets the reader deduce *from the change in the language* the transfiguring effect brought about by the realisation of the presence of the "großer Mensch" and suddenly<sup>147</sup> breaks into ecstatic speech:

O der unaussprechlichen Wonne, wenn unser Herz auf einmal ein Abgrund voll Entzücken von aller Welten Lebensquellen würde, die in einem Moment wie ungeheure Tiefen sich dahin stürzten! Schwerer<sup>148</sup>gränzloser Gedank', ich erlieg unter dir. Welcher Sterbliche, welches Phänomen vermag ihn zu ertragen!(362)

M.Dick interprets this passage as confirmation of his earlier finding that Heinse is seeking for an objective definition of the import of art, so that in this revelation of "Lebensquellen"<sup>149</sup> art becomes the revelation "des Wesens der Dinge", that the passage in fact is an objective "Begründung der Kunst".(Dick,p.223) The passage, however, is really only incidentally concerned with art. At least there seems to be a straightforward connection between this "transfigured" outburst and the impact on a "Sterblicher" of the presence and gaze of a "großer Mensch". This in fact is the moment, face to face with

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147. The concept of the "großer Mensch" comes into being with the suddenness ("auf einmal") of a revelation, not, as Montenbruck (p.11) claims, "langsam" "in den Düsseldorf Jahren", and not "geformt nach seinem eigenen Bilde".

148. An echo III,254, where ecstasy also presses like weight of rapture on the heart, "wo der ganze Inbegriff seiner [des Himmels] Wonne wie ein schweeres Gewitter von Entzücken aus unserm Herzen liegt". (See Chapter I, fn.82).

149. M.Dick (p.224) draws a telling comparison between Goethe's use of the singular "Urquell der Natur", and Heinse's plural "aller Welten Lebensquellen"; seeing the latter

Rubens, (not "ganz in sich selbst zurückgezogen, . . . in der Verborgenheit seines Tagebuches" (Montenbruck, p.12)) when the concept of the "großer Mensch" appears to Heinse in all clarity. As Montenbruck (p.11) rightly states, the word "Genie" had for some time become inadequate. From the moment, it seems, when he arrives in Düsseldorf in 1774 and begins his first notebook, the "Genie" concept begins to be extended by the addition of "groß" and the implication of superhuman, even to the point of ruthless, strength. Society, he jots down, is like so much dead wood which must be chopped down and replanted by "Lykurgische Genieen", "die großen herkulischen Genieen" (VIII,1,3-4). That Heinse considers himself to be involved in this work and thus by implication is associated with these "große Genieen" is apparent:

In Laidion sind die Äxte und Hebebäume dazu nur versucht worden; laßt mich nur noch einige Jahre gesund seyn und meinen Plan überdacht haben! (VIII,1,4)

Here then in the "großes herkulisches Genie" lies the link between the "Genie" and the "großer Mensch".

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as drawn more closely into the multifariousness of reality, whereas "Urquell" remains more out of reach and undefined, and not as close to sensuous reality as the "Lebensquellen" which are active "in allen Welten" and thus, according to Dick, attain a senso-vital interpretation.

This theme of the plurality of the sources of Life is also elaborated by Heinse in his notebook: "Alles lebendige entspringt aus keiner Quelle allein, sondern aus unzähligen Adern. Was aus einer allein besteht, kann nicht lange bestehen". (VIII,1,103)

In Heinse's usage of the terms a "großer Mensch" is also a "Genie", but a "Genie" is not necessarily a "großer Mensch". Thus the "Genie" which Heinse recognised in the young Goethe (IX,225) he also feels to be present in Rubens, as H.Mohr has pointed out.<sup>150</sup> That does not make Rubens conclusively the example for a "Skizze der Formation des Genies" in the way Mohr states, however. Similarly, though M.Dick's finding is not disputed that the concept of the "innere Fülle des Genies" being greater than his works is part of the way the artist was seen in the *Sturm und Drang*, this does not make the terms "Genie" and "großer Mensch" interchangeable. The term "Genie" appears frequently<sup>151</sup> in Heinse's work before Düsseldorf, and means either a person's outstanding natural endowment, or the person thus endowed. As has been shown in Chapter I, the genius apportioned by Nature to the favoured few is likened by Heinse to lightning, or "himmlisches Feuer", linking the quality of "Genie" or the "Genie" as a person with Heinse's lightning imagery. A capacity for profound Feeling, a powerful imagination which can transcend the mediocre, untrammelled freedom from any restriction, "großer

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150. Heinrich Mohr, *Wilhelm Heinse. Das erotisch-religiöse Weltbild und seine naturphilosophischen Grundlagen*, fn.p.19.

151. In the *Musikalische Dialogen* of 1769 "Genie" in singular and plural, (also "Genius" three times) occurs: I, 213, 215, 217, 218, 220, 224, 227, 228, 230-231 (long definition), 232, 233, 234, 236, 237, 240, 242, 243, 245, 246, 248, 251, 252, 260, 261, 269, 276, 304, 307, 313, 317.

Also: I, 149, 150, 156, 157, 158, 162, 163, 164, 165, 169, 170.

Also: III, 217, 218, 239, 241, 263.

Geist", "Herz", and youthfulness make up the Heinsean "Genie". Tasso (II,217-268) is its incarnation. But, whereas the early "Genie" definitions concentrate largely on the presence of talent and the conditions under which it, or its possessor, thrives or wilts, a new emphasis appears with the second Ricciardetto letter (III,456-472) of 7 February 1775. Heinse now seems to turn from the "junge Genieen", "diesen jungen Geistern" (457) towards the "grossen Genieen", the helmsmen of the great ships on the waters of Time(457). The progression in the terms now becomes clear: a "junges Genie" has talent, a "grosses Genie" uses this potential. With the "großer Mensch" comes the culmination: in *his* presence a "junges Genie" is aware of "das allgegenwärtige Feuer der Gottheit"(III,465), meaning the power and spirit of creativity ("Schöpfungsgeist"; "Schöpfungskraft; Darstellungsvermögen")(466). There is thus an ascending line: "junges Genie", "grosses Genie", "großer Mensch" in Heinse's use of these terms. In the *Gemähldebriefe*, where the focus builds up to the culmination in the last description in the concept of the "großer Mensch", the word "Genie" has dropped almost out of use. It occurs only once, and then in a distinctly down-grading manner, stating that "junges Genie" tends to tackle only easy subject matter, offset at once with the claim:

Der starke Mann allein gibt sich an's Schwere: . . .  
Rubens am den sterbenden Seneca, Raphael an den Johannes. (IX,296)



The new focus then is on strength: "herkulische Genieen" (VIII,1,4); "der starke Rubens"(III,465); "der starke Mann" (IX,296); "Schöpfungskraft"(III,466). And not only strength, but an abundance of it: a "großer Mensch" exhibits a surfeit of creative power, ("Überfluß seiner Kraft" (VIII,1,143); and his is an "übervermögende Seele"(IX,361). All this concentration on strength and abundant energy in conjunction with the skilful exploitation of stylistic possibilities - from *Sturm und Drang* labels for the figure of Rubens to the tone of ecstatic transfiguration in the response of his beholder - serve Heinse superbly well for his final thrust against Winckelmann. This consists of the assertion that a "großer Mensch" is the only one who in Art can project "höchstes Leben", the hardest of all tasks:

Das höchste Leben ist das schwerste in allen Künsten, so wohl in den bildenden, als Poesie und Musik: Sturm in der Natur, Mord zwischen Mann und Mann, Seelenvereinigung zwischen Mann und Weib, . . . . Das Todte kann auch der bloße Fleiß darstellen, aber das Leben nur der große Mensch. (IV,196;RA,186)

This utterance by Ardinghello, which appeared in print ten years after the *Gemähldebriefe*, sums up the strongly held conviction on behalf of Heinse which informs them, namely - and utterly against Winckelmann - that greatness in art consists of capturing Life at its stormiest, and so at its most alive moment. "Das Todte", as the epigraph of this chapter confirms, is what is to be connected with the followers of Winckelmann, while Rubens stands for "höchstes Leben".

## 5. CONCLUSION

The importance of the *Gemähldebriefer* for the development of Heinse's style and language can hardly be overestimated. They bring convincing evidence of a completely new departure for Heinse, one which, significantly, coincides with the decision ("Lassen wir es"(IX,280)) to discard excursions into the sphere of the imagination alone, along the paths Gleim and Wieland had trodden. Here, in Düsseldorf, were works of art, i.e. beautiful real objects, in the real life gallery. Once Heinse fastened onto them and he set himself the task of transmitting their appearance in words, his truly outstanding talent revealed itself. With it there emerged Heinse's striking ability of using his verbal medium as if he were handling a medium belonging to the plastic or decorative arts, while his musicality, apart from imparting the overall quality of being "wohlklingend", adds further opportunities for the memorable transmission of particular impressions. Thanks to Heinse's descriptions of the Düsseldorf paintings, new possibilities as to the scope of the German language are discovered, displayed in sometimes breathtaking boldness, and all the while borne on a remarkable aesthetic sensitivity. Heinse was to achieve further great heights of expressiveness in *Ardinghello*, but from the point of view of sheer stunning linguistic virtuosity only the Rhine falls descriptions can match the *Gemähldebriefer*.

The anti-Winckelmann theme runs through the letters

and is captured in the emphasis on "storminess", and therefore on Life in its highest manifestations, a concept with which the figure of the "großer Mensch" is inextricably linked.

APPENDIX A

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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The history of the United States is a story of a people who have grown from a small group of settlers on the eastern coast to a great nation that spans the continent. The story begins with the first settlers, who came to the New World in search of a better life. They found a land of opportunity, but also a land of hardship. The settlers had to learn to live with the elements and the native people. They built a society that was based on hard work and a sense of community. The story of the United States is a story of a people who have overcome many challenges and have built a great nation.

This appendix is a collection of documents that are important to the history of the United States. It includes the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and other important documents. These documents are the foundation of the United States and are essential to understanding the country's history. This appendix is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the history of the United States.

### CHAPTER III

#### ARDINGHELLO - WERTHER

#### WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO FIRE IMAGERY

#### AND TO NATURE DESCRIPTIONS

Wie mächtig das Gefühl für Schönheit.  
(*Ardinghello*, IV, 386; RA, 366)

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

From the heading of this chapter it can be deduced that language and style associated with the two famous characters created by Heinse and the young Goethe respectively are to be the subject of scrutiny. Since Heinse was basically critical of Wieland's and Winckelmann's stance the opposition indicated by the form of heading adopted for the first two chapters is justified. A chapter heading "Heinse - Goethe", however, would be misleading in this context, since Heinse's admiration for Goethe never wavered to his dying day.<sup>1</sup>

Fire imagery is of particular relevance for the figure of Ardinghello and helps to mark the contrast with Werther.

It also completes the three-part imagery "Lightning",

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1. In his last letter, to Thomas Sömmerring, dated 15 June 1803, one week before his death, he still upholds Goethe as the only person in Jena or Weimar, as far as "geistiges Leben" is concerned. (X, 345)

"Storm", "Fire", which, like a leitmotiv denoting "Bewegung" and "Leben" at its peak of intensity, linked to the concept of the outstanding individual, runs through all of Heinse's thought, from lightning, the divine spark of the "Genie", to the storminess associated with the "großer Mensch", now to the fire of the "Kernmensch" Ardinghello.

Nature descriptions are featured in this chapter because they are involved in the characterisations of both Ardinghello and Werther, as M.L.Baeumer (RA,686) has noted. Moreover, though fewer in number in *Ardinghello* than art descriptions, they are given prominence in this chapter because the technique of the art descriptions is not significantly different from that of the *Gemäldebriefe*, so that, splendid though they are, they may be neglected here. The nature descriptions - and this includes descriptions from outside *Ardinghello* like the Rhine falls descriptions which are also brought in - perform an important function when it comes to a definition of that very special quality of Heinse's language, and when it comes to demonstrating the aesthetic dimension in its full importance for Heinse's style and language.

## 2. POINTS OF CONTACT AND CONTRAST BETWEEN ARDINGHELLO AND WERTHER

Both Heinse's novel *Ardinghello und die glückseeligen Inseln* of 1787 and Goethe's novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* of 1774 have been described as epoch-making works:<sup>2</sup>

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2. M.L.Baeumer, Postscript to Reclam critical edition, (RA), p.641.

*Werther* is generally regarded as the first modern German novel<sup>3</sup>; *Ardinghello* as the first artist novel,<sup>4</sup> and, with its subtitle, *Eine Italiänische Geschichte aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, as the first novel with a Renaissance setting. Both works had a mixed reception: rapturous admiration on the one side, cold disapproval or hot indignation on the other. Both works have an eponymous hero who, when voicing his attitude to the society around him so typifies the *Sturm und Drang* outlook, and speaks in so emphatic a *Sturm und Drang* tone on such similar topics that in this respect one could very nearly exchange the one for the other without distortion. Thus both have a leaning towards the common people. *Werther*, not without distance, says: "Aber eine rechte gute Art Volks!"(14);<sup>5</sup> *Ardinghello*: "Das rauhe Volk in Corsica gefällt mir, es liegt Stoff darin" (IV,131;RA,125). Neither cares for the rigid pomposity of authority, so *Werther* calls the doctor "eine sehr dogmatische Drahtpuppe"(48), and *Ardinghello* Cäcilia's bridegroom "eine kalte Staatsperücke"(IV,53;RA,51). Neither of them has any use for bureaucratic and scholastic pedants, with *Werther* calling the "Gesandter", "der pünktlichste Narre"(118) and referring to him as a "Baase", a word also incorporated in *Ardinghello*'s neologism "Fraubasengutartigkeit" (below), and "das Gehirn"(120);

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3. E.Beutler, Postscript to Reclam edition (1969), p.148.

4. M.L.Baeumer (RA,717) corrects this view and sums up the novel as "weniger ein Künstler- als vielmehr ein Kunstroman", which he further qualifies as "vor allem ein gelehrter Renaissance- und Kunstroman".

5. All references to *Werther* will be given in this form, using the first edition of 1774.

whereas Ardinghello rails against "das bloß leere scholas-  
tische Geschwätz"(IV,163;RA,155), when "mit vorgesetzten  
Lehrmeistern geplagt"(IV,58:RA,55). Werther, disagreeing  
with his superior, feels like thrashing him, "weiter  
ist mit den Kerls nicht zu raisonnieren"(120); Ardinghello,  
in similar vein, warns against taking things lying  
down in "Allgehorsam und Fraubasengutartigkeit, so  
beliebt bey Pedanten"(IV,59,RA,56). Werther feels alienated  
by the atmosphere at court, its "Langeweile, Rangsucht"(121),  
"Ceremoniel"(123), and "Schwall von Zerstreung"(125).  
Although Werther admires the Count, and the words with which  
Benedikt - the narrator - warns Ardinghello, concern the  
court of a despot, they nevertheless fit Werther's situation,  
since he feels himself to be in a "Joch"(120):

Kein hoher Geist, der frey seyn kann, verpflichtet  
sich an den Hof eines Despoten; er erwählt lieber  
Wasser und Brod. Bey einem schlechten Fürsten kann  
keiner ausdauern, ohne schlechte Streiche zu begehn:  
es ist platterdings nichts anders zu thun für einen  
Edeln, der sich retten will, als zu fliehen.(IV,150;  
RA,143)

In this bold language concerning their view of society  
there is then a clear point of contact between Ardinghello  
and Werther. However, practically interchangeable though  
they may be in this respect, this does not, of course,  
make them identical. It may be helpful when trying  
to define their overall stance in relation to each  
other to see them as the two complimentary halves making  
up the "Genie" concept of the *Sturm und Drang*, to employ  
H.Flaschka's simplifying classification,<sup>6</sup> which had also

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6. Goethes "Werther", p.136.



been made earlier by R.Pascal,<sup>7</sup> and which differentiates between the "Tatmensch" and the "Gefühlsmensch". This view, of the passive "Gefühlsmensch" Werther as a "Pendant" to the boisterously active "Tatmensch" Ardinghello was already expressed in 1788 by C.G.Körner, who, in a letter to Schiller, described Ardinghello as a "Pendant zum Werther", "Geist und Kraft im *Schwelgen* wie jener im *Leiden*". (ZZ, p.29; Körner's italics).

However, in spite of the common ground between them implied by casting them as the two "Genie" types of the *Sturm und Drang*, and in spite of their both employing - as in their views on society - a "kernige", emphatic mode of expression approaching spoken language, Ardinghello and Werther are poles apart in their fundamental mode of utterance. There is in Ardinghello only a token application of the syncope, apocope, and elision, which occurs throughout in Werther and is part of the "Signatur der Goethischen Geniesprache".<sup>8</sup> Ardinghello has all the inner passion of a *Stürmer und Dränger*, but his language never becomes - as it does for Werther - a barrier<sup>9</sup> rather than an adequate medium for communication. H.Flaschka cites the end of Werther's letter of 24 November with its interrupted and incomplete syntax by way of illustrating this feature (which occurs already in the first letter: "Hab ich nicht - O was ist der Mensch"(6)). Ardinghello

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7. *Der Sturm und Drang*, p.173

8. D.Welz, *Der Weimarer Werther*, p.15

9. See Flaschka, *op.cit.*, p.141, for a discussion of these characteristics of "Geniesprache" in general, and with regard to Werther.

also does not participate in, to coin a term, the "Rauhbeinigkeit" of that *Sturm und Drang* tone where "Kerls" are at home.<sup>10</sup> And neither does Ardinghello have a share in that tone of a largely self-centred inward-looking *Empfindsamer* which characterizes Werther's language.

To Werther the state of his own heart is always of absorbing concern. Ardinghello's absorbing interest by contrast is "das Schöne". He looks outward, and he reacts in his language to the beauty of the world in all its aspects: architecture, paintings, sculpture, the language of Homer, music, the grandeur of Nature, the sea, the cosmos, women - he is above all a lover of Beauty. This "Gefühl für Schönheit" colours the language of Ardinghello. At one point he exclaims:

Wie, bin ich strafbar, daß ich mich mit dem Schönen zu vereinigen suche, wo ichs finde? ist dieß nicht der edelste Trieb unsers Geistes? (IV,111:RA,106)

He *is* here justifying a new "Liebeshandel", but in a wider sense he is also proclaiming - in this declared constant desire for union with the beautiful - something which bathes the figure of Ardinghello in a golden light: his aesthetic awareness. Through *it* - so unlike Werther - he can leave behind the "Materie", (i.e. all that weighs down a human being in earthly existence), and attain at any time ("so bald ich will") the liberation an aesthetic experience brings: "freyen Vogelflug". (IV,240;RA,230)

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10. When Heinse uses the term "braver Kerl" in a letter to Georg Jacobi (21 February 1775; IX,238) he adds: "um mich eines Göthischen Ausdrucks zu bedienen".

One noticeable point of contact between *Ardinghello* and *Werther* is their outer form: both follow the literary vogue of the "Briefroman".<sup>11</sup> In *Werther's* case the medium provides the reader with the illusion of looking right into the hero's "Herz" - that focal point of *Empfindsamkeit* - without a distancing narrator, while the fictional editor brings with him the distance of the rational observer. In *Ardinghello* the letter form permits Heinse to put into his hero's pen with apparent spontaneity<sup>12</sup> many of his own notebook impressions on art and architecture from his stay in Italy (1780-1783), as well as some of his political and philosophical reflections. The lengthy cosmological dialogue between *Ardinghello* and the Greek philosopher Demetri takes the letter form beyond the point of credibility, however.

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11. The trend was set by Samuel Richardson's *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* (1740); *Clarissa Harlowe* (1747/1748); followed by Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Heloise* (1759); C.F. Gellert's *Das Leben der Schwedischen Gräfin von G...* (1747/1748); J.K.A. Müllers's *Grandison der Zweite* (1760/1762); J.T. Hermes's *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen* (1769-1773); and Sophie de la Roche's *Das Fräulein von Sternheim* (1771).

Quoted from: *Erläuterungen und Dokumente, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, Reclam edition by Kurt Rothmann, p.109

12. M.L. Baeumer's critical edition of *Ardinghello* demonstrates for the first time in detail how Heinse at times compiled several different notes with great skill in a patchwork technique, frequently smoothing out and editing his notes although also taking over some passages *verbatim et litteratim*. See RA, 692 ff. and 'Variantenverzeichnis'. These findings correct R. Benz's claim (op.cit., p.30) that Heinse was not capable of reshaping his notebooks for *Ardinghello*.

### 3. "THRÄNEN" IN *WERTHER* AND *ARDINGHELLO*

For an evaluation of Heinse's style and language the perhaps most striking point of contact between *Werther* and *Ardinghello* is highly relevant, namely the finding that both works make their greatest impact *through their language*. As E.Beutler asserts:

In erster Linie aber ist es die Sprache, auf der die Wirkung des *Werthers* beruhte und noch heute beruht.  
(op.cit.,p.152)

And, as M.L.Baeumer asserts, concerning Heinse:

Nicht in der gelehrten Zusammenfügung liegt die literarische Wirkung seines Romans, sondern in der sinnlich-anschaulichen Sprache und Darstellung genialischen Genießens von Kunst, Liebe, Natur und kosmischer Entgrenzung. (RA,718)

The language of both works has about it an unforgettable quality, one which grips the reader and makes him captive to its allure. This quality, so well expressed in the German "hinreißend", had been noted about *Werther* even by the critical older generation,<sup>13</sup> while O.Keller<sup>14</sup> and E.Hock<sup>15</sup> perceive it in *Ardinghello*. Hock singles out as Heinse's unsurpassed achievement the "hinreißende sprachliche Wiedergabe", especially with reference to a single experience concerning art or Nature, and for Keller it is the powerful immediacy of the utterance, what he terms "eine Sageweise von hinreißender Kraft der Unmittelbarkeit". The quality of being "hinreißend" here, however, is of an utterly different kind to that

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13. Lessing, Nicolai, Mendelssohn, Lichtenberg, Sulzer, Bodmer, Wieland. (Reclam *Erläuterungen und Dokumente* to *Werther*, p.121)

14. See Appendix 1, 29) 15. See Appendix 1, 36)

of the language of *Werther*, where it touches the heart, ("greift uns ans Herz", (Beutler, p.148)). Heinse himself, in a matter-of-fact, yet moving phrase commenting on *Werther* demonstrates the difference in these two modes of expression:

Das Herz ist einem so voll davon,  
und der ganze Kopf ein Gefühl von Thräne.  
(III, 388; from Heinse's recension of *Werther* in *Iris*, December 1774)

The phrase is remarkable in its use of the combination of "Herz" and "Kopf", a well-balanced development of which was held to be essential in connection with *Empfindsamkeit*, as G.Sauder shows.<sup>16</sup> The inclusion of "voll" and "ganz" adds more weight of feeling to the statement, which yet cannot be classified as *Empfindsamkeit*. Heinse's deceptively simple device of shedding the plural "-n", which the ubiquitous tears of *Empfindsamkeit* always carry, cuts short their platitudinous abundant flow, which also always brings relief to their shedder, and retains the whole unbearable volume within the head (not, the heart). The singular, "Thräne", also in effect universalizes the small physical phenomenon, the absence of any article giving to the "Gefühl" a momentous vastness. The phrase "ein Gefühl von Thräne" is an example of the "Wucht" of Heinse's language. It also unobtrusively but decisively marks his un-sentimental stance, his distance from *Empfindsamkeit*.

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16. Under the heading 'Elemente der Empfindsamkeit. Gleichgewicht von Kopf und Herz' Sauder (*Empfindsamkeit*, I, pp.125-127) points out that a happy union between head and heart was seen as a necessary prerequisite for Feeling by many theorists of *Empfindsamkeit* in the eighteenth century. See also Flaschka, op.cit., p.167.

The circumstances of Heinse's introduction to *Werther* which led to the review in *Iris* from which the above quotation is taken shed some intriguing light on the stance and thus the language of those involved: Heinse, Goethe, and F.H.(Fritz)Jacobi. Heinse was first introduced to *Werther* by the "empfindsame" Fritz Jacobi. Goethe first visited Jacobi and his family, where Heinse was also living, in July 1774. To Heinse he appeared as the "Genie" personified, "vom Wirbel bis zur Zehe Genie und Kraft und Stärke", for whom he reserved the double accolade of fire/eagle imagery: "ein Geist voll Feuer mit Adlerflügeln" (IX,225). The "Herz voll Gefühl" which Heinse also notes here is in effect the quality which was to open a path to a new awareness for Goethe,<sup>17</sup> one that enabled him to turn his back on being the "wilde Verfasser von Götter Helden und Wieland" (IX,229) and on the inherent excessiveness of a "Kraftgenie" (as which Heinse still identifies him). Goethe, having already come under *Pietismus* influences during his long convalescence, found himself perfectly attuned at this moment in his life to the related experience of reciprocal outpourings of one heart to another in expressions of friendship of almost erotic or mystical fervour, sparked off in moonlit "Schwelgen" while being initiated to Spinoza's thought by Jacobi - without the participation of Heinse.

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17. Goethe writes appreciatively of Jacobi's part in this process. (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*, dtv Gesamtausgabe 23, p.169) There is no mention of Heinse, although the letter to Jacobi by Goethe of 31 August 1774 contains two affectionate references to "den Bruder, Rosten". (*Friedr. Heinr. Jacobi, Briefwechsel*, I, p.253)

Heinse, on the other hand, had rightly sensed a kindred spirit to his own in Goethe: they were both young men of genius, and that not just in the trivialised sense the term acquired. But, whereas for Heinse the "Genie" concept was to mature and expand into that of the "großer Mensch" as beheld in Rubens, and move on again and find fruition in the "Kernmensch" Ardinghello - splendidly assertive and beyond moral restraints, elemental as fire - Goethe had written *Werther* in the year of their meeting (although Heinse had not yet been introduced to the work). And *Werther*, in spite of the "Genie" strand in his personality, in complete contrast chooses death when traditional morality (which he tries to uphold) and a society (into which he cannot fit) combine to crush his spirit irretrievably.

Goethe sent *Werther* to Jacobi (October 1774?) who gloatingly related to Goethe how he kept news of the arrival of the book ("des lieben Buchs", "mein Büchlein") from Heinse for some time, and then tormented him by not letting him touch it, and by insisting on only reading it out to him. Jacobi recorded Heinse's reaction:

Der arme Rost ward übermannt, gerieth außer sich, sein Angesicht glühte, seine Augen thaueten, seine Brust hob sich empor; Bewunderung, Entzücken erfüllte seine Seele: "Ueber alles, was Goethe bisher gemacht hat, sagt' er, ist dies göttliche Werk, ganz voll Kraft, ganz voll Leben, aber damit auch alle seine Kraft, all sein Leben: da steht er nun in seiner höchsten Größe, an der äußersten Grenze seiner Jünglingschaft." (Jacobi. *Briefwechsel*, I, p.264)

"Kraft" and "Leben" then in full measure speak to Heinse from the work: *Werther* is for him a projection of the "Kraftgenie", supreme and poignant at the zenith of his youth.

Heinse, swaying with emotion like a reed "in einer so wahrhaften Entäußerung seiner selbst" that Jacobi had to feel sorry for him, determined at once to announce *Werther* in *Iris*. He presented the resulting (not extant) article to Jacobi the next morning, who rejected it, but sent a copy to Goethe with the words: "Was sagst du dazu? Gedruckt soll das alberne Ding nicht werden, aber du mußt es doch sehen!" It is possible that Heinse had not steeped his article in that religiously imbued exaggeratedly emotional tone which to Jacobi denoted "Herz", something he found missing in Heinse.<sup>18</sup> As the description of the Raphael "Johannes" painting above already revealed, Heinse is not suited to the tone associated with this form of *Empfindsamkeit* - if that is what it is. H. Flaschka (op.cit.p.155) points out that the term is not easily definable, in spite or rather because of much intensive recent scrutiny of the subject. Flaschka lists some widely-held opinions and findings which see *Empfindsamkeit* as:

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18. To get a taste of the *Pietismus*-influenced tone of *Empfindsamkeit* in which Jacobi feels close to Goethe and from which by inference he excludes Heinse a few more lines from Jacobi's letter are quoted here:

"Da bin ich zurück! Ich war hinausgegangen anzubeten; habe angebetet, gepriesen mit süßen wonnevollen Thränen den der da schuf *dich*, *deine* Welt, und für eben diese Welt den glühenden, kräftigen Sinn in *mir*.

Gleich bey'm Erwachen heute früh fuhr mir über's Angesicht der Schauer, von dem du weißt, wie er hinabzittert, eindringt, zum auflösenden Leben wird im Busen, und den ganzen Erdensohn tödtet.- Tod, schöner, himmlischer Jüngling!" (Ibid., p.265) (Jacobi's italics)

Jacobi, spinning a cocoon of ecstatically adoring tears and an appealingly youthful image of the death of earthliness around himself and Goethe is quite right to see Heinse as alien to the idea of willingly giving up the self to attain some nebulously high, spiritual, link with another.



a legitimate child of German *Pietismus* with roots in English sentimentalism;  
a turning of classicist culture towards the inner life;  
feeling ("Gefühlsleben") intensified to emotionalism;  
the inner ("seelische") capacity to react beyond the normal;  
compassionate devotion and tearfulness;  
the cult of the soul and of friendship;  
over-indulgence of feeling ("Gefühlsschwärmerei");  
the retreat of the "bürgerliche" individual into "Innerlichkeit".

All these *Empfindsamkeit* "caps" certainly fit Jacobi to some extent. For the Goethe of *Werther* not only *Empfindsamkeit*, but also, besides *Sturm und Drang*, *Aufklärung* is a discernible source of his mode of expression. Flaschka (p.101) notes that these strands are not, as literary historians used to claim, opposing forces, but are nowadays recognized as complimentary ones. Heinse (like Goethe and Jacobi) cannot but have absorbed *Aufklärung* like the air he breathed, and he is a *Stürmer und Dränger*, though never in the "hingewühlt", fragmented ejaculatory style this is often taken to mean. His ventures into *Empfindsamkeit* (Letters, *Laidion*, *Iris*, the "Johannes description") rarely sound like more than the dutiful application of a popular trend, and sometimes show a - for the reader almost embarrassing - lack of knowing when enough is enough. One such venture, however, deserves perhaps more than a passing glance. It occurs in *Laidion* (III,142-153) where, under the headings "Von der Traurigkeit", "Von der Freundschaft", "Der Brief", it deals with the subject of suicide. In Keller's words: "Mit ihm kündigt sich ein halbes Jahr vor Erscheinen von Goethes erstem Roman die Wertherthematik an". (Op.cit.,p.51) Keller finds

that Heinse's language with its pathetic exclamations, repetitions, and intensifications attains an almost piercing forcefulness. Keller is right, the despair of Philotas who chooses death when Glycerion is dead is genuinely transmitted to the reader:

Ach, ihre Augen werden Dich nicht wieder sehen. Aurora! und ich werde sie nie wieder sehen. . . . O schrecklicher Gedanke! - An keinem Orte im Himmel und auf Erden und unter der Erden, werd' ich meine Glycerion wieder sehen, wieder küssen, wieder umarmen.-

. . . . .  
Ich soll sie nie wieder sehen? - . . . . Er antwortete mit dem wilden Blicke der tiefsten Melancholie: ich soll sie nie wieder sehen? geliebter Freund! nie wieder sehen? So wie wir uns einmal auch nie wieder sehen werden. O Menschheit, wie armselig bist Du, für Menschen, die Augen haben! (III,148,149)

And the next day, when Pausanias discovers the farewell note:

Schweremüthig kam ich endlich unter die Lorbeerbäume. Meine Blicke suchten meinen Freund, aber sie fanden ihn nicht. Wie ein Pfeil fuhr mir die Angst in's Herz. Ich fiel nieder auf die Rasenbank an den Lorbeerbäumen, und sah daselbst - ach wären meine Augen blind geworden, ehe sie es gesehen hätten! - ein Blatt liegen. Ich hob es auf -und las - o hätt' ich es nie gelesen! (III,149)

There is no ray of (Christian) hope here of a reunion after death like that with which Werther in the letter of 10 September "ängstlichen Abschied im Herzen"(106, also 212) can seek to calm Lotte and cling to a straw of hope himself in the repeated: "wir werden uns wieder sehn!" It is an episode in the "tinsel" *Laidion*, as Henry Hatfield rather dismissively refers to the work,<sup>19</sup> which genuinely "greift ans Herz" as does *Werther*.

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19. *Aesthetic Paganism in German Literature*, p.75

The genuine sentiments expressed in this language make it classifiable as *Empfindsamkeit* rather than *Empfindelei*, which G.Jäger defines as "erkünstelt, unnatürlich und übertrieben, vorgegeben und affektiert, unbegründet und überspannt".<sup>20</sup> Ardinghello, musing on the past activities in the Colosseum in Rome, sweeps aside *Empfindelei* ("unsre empfindelnde Welt"), but not to align himself with "wahre *Empfindsamkeit*".<sup>21</sup> but with the great paradoxical Stoic maxim: "der Weise erbarmt sich, hat aber kein Mitleiden". (IV,170; RA,162) This controlled, tearless compassion differs sharply from the tearful "Mit-Leiden" of the readership referred to in the preface to *Werther*: "Ihr könnt . . . seinem Schicksaale eure Thränen nicht versagen". Ardinghello in fact sympathises with a quality of aloof autonomous strength:

Große starke Selbstständigkeit, die Leiden andrer außer sich zu fühlen, . . . , und zugleich über alles dieß empor zu ragen, ohne sich als Theil damit zu vermischen und selbst zu leiden. (IV,169, RA,161-162)

It is a reiteration of the spirit of the fire-fable in the preface to *Ardinghello*, which is hardly just a

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20. *Empfindsamkeit und Roman*, pp.20-27. (Quoted from Sauder, I, p.154)

21. J.H.Campe elucidates the difference he finds between "wahre" *Empfindsamkeit* and *Empfindelei* in an essay of 1779, printed in: G.Sauder, *Empfindsamkeit*, III, *Quellen und Dokumente*, pp.3-13) See also Chapter II, fn.115 above. Others did not distinguish between the two terms, as for instance the anonymous author of *Das in Deutschland so sehr überhand genommene Uebel der sogenannten Empfindsamkeit oder Empfindelei* (ibid., pp.29-37), who sees both concepts as a "hitzige Krankheit", hard to cure, and then only by the stringent avoidance of softness, and sensuous stimulation through art and literature. Heinse could readily have agreed to the first, but not the second directive!

metaphor for the damage something extremely beneficial can yet innocently cause,<sup>22</sup> as Heinse claims. It stands at least partly for the elemental unconcern, the absence of "Mit-Leiden" on the part of the strong personality who does not join in the pain "die Schwachen" or "wir fromme moralische Seelen" feel.<sup>23</sup> This stance of unsentimental

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22. Jürgen Schramke (*Wilhelm Heinse und die Französische Revolution*, p.3) points out that the fire fable is not Heinse's invention, his source being Bernardino Baldi, *Versi e Prose*, Venetia, 1590. Heinse writes in his Italian notebook: "Hundert Fabeln in Prosa hinten dran. . . . 16. Wachs und Erde beym Feuer in Kugeln. *lamentati più tosto della natura tua, perchè io inquanto à me con tutti son fuoco. göttlich gewiß!* (VIII,1528)

Fiordimona, like Ardinghello, is portrayed by Heinse by indirect reference to the fire fable as extra-ordinary, in the sense that normal rules do not apply to such larger-than-life figures, whose drives are elemental and consuming like fire, and just as unquestioning:

"Fiordimona dauert mich; was kann das Feuer dafür, daß es brennt?" (IV,382;RA,362)

Isabella is the most extreme figure cast in this mould, pursuing her dazzling course with utter lack of compassion for the fate of others. The insertion of "bloß" shows that Ardinghello has reservations about her: "Ein göttlich schönes Ding bloß für die Gegenwart! ein Feuer, das alles aufzehrt, was sich ihm nähert." (IV,57;RA,54-55)

The idea expressed in the fire fable, of the *noble* immunity to, and benefit from, the element of fire - "edle Gefäße" are being "gehärtet" - is subtly linked by Heinse to the names of the main characters. M.L.Baeumer (RA,682) notes that Heinse chose the names to express their prevalent qualities and functions: Ardinghello (from "ardere" - to burn; "gelarsi" - to harden, to solidify into ice). Fiordimona means "demonic flower", indicating the forces within her which, like fire, are uncontrollable. (RA;459)

23. See Sauder (III,pp.37-42) for an excerpt of U.Cassina's essay of 1790 on "Mitleiden", indebted to Francis Hutcheson, condemning the stoics' opinion "daß das Mitleiden als eine schmerzhaft empfindung ein Fehler sei", lauding it instead as a "natürlicher Affekt des menschlichen Herzens, zum Besten der Gesellschaft". Nietzsche, on the other hand, ("Von den Mitleidigen" in *Also sprach Zarathustra*, (Goldmann,p.71-74)) is very much on the side of the stoics and of Ardinghello.

detachment frequently leaves its imprint on the style of *Ardinghello*. Here for instance Heinse has his hero continue in a tone emphasizing strength: "Dieß ergreift männliche Seelen", ("männlich" is weighting the scales away from softness, i.e. *Empfindsamkeit*), "und ein solch auserwählt Leben" (apocope sustaining the chunky masculine tone), "von trivialen Lumpereyen fern" (the lively strength imparted by the learned "trivial", next to the gruff "Lumpereyen"), "dringt in nichtsdestoweniger rein- und scharffühlende Herzen"(IV,170;RA,162). "Rein und scharf fühlen" has a bright clear-headed sound to it, the very opposite of "der ganze Kopf ein Gefühl von Thräne" blotting out all thought, which *Werther* had aroused.

Not that there are no "Thränen" in *Ardinghello*. Yet they are very different from those in *Werther*, where they form a catalogue of emotion,<sup>24</sup> sometimes intentionally intensified to *Empfindsamkeit*,<sup>25</sup> sometimes becoming *Empfindlei*.<sup>26</sup> They are essentially part of the style of *Werther*, keeping the reader drawn into the ever-deepening crisis within the vulnerably sensitive *Werther*.

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24. There are tears of genuine despair:

"Ein Strom von Thränen bricht aus meinem gepreßten Herzen, und ich weine trostlos einer finstern Zukunft entgegen."((96); 21.Aug.1771). Also, after reading Ossian: "ein Stroh von Thränen" from Lotte, "die bittersten Thränen" from *Werther*; and the impossibility of a union between them symbolized: "ihre Thränen vereinigten sie". (205) Also, Lotte's weeping during the following night, appearing "verweint" and trying to swallow her tears.(213-215)

25. "Nicht Eine selige thränenreiche Stunde! Nichts! Nichts!"((125); 20.Jan.1771).

Lotte permitting "den elenden Trost, auf ihrer Hand meine Beklemmung auszuweinen" ((101); 30.Aug.1771).

"Ich ihr Mann! O Gott . . . verzeih mir diese Thränen!" ((144); 29.Juli 1771).

"Thränen" or "Zähren" appear curiously out of place in Heinse's writing. Most of the time it is as if they are something he did not associate with, a luxury he could not afford, and an indulgence he had no use for. Early on already he realistically accepts the basically predatory nature of existence, and, casting a cool glance at Leibniz's "best of all possible worlds", distances himself from the soft-hearted *Empfindsamkeit* tears of such as the Jacobi brothers:<sup>27</sup>

Weil doch die beste Welt nicht anders eingerichtet ist, und nicht anders bestehen kann, als daß immer ein Thier das andere ermordet und davon ein paar Tage lebt; eine Einrichtung, worüber die Jacobi und alle zärtlichen Geister die bittersten Thränen weinen!

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"Ihr Trauring fiel mir in's Gesicht - Meine Thränen flossen - ((170), 4. Dez. 1772).

"O Gott, du gewährest mir das letzte Labsal der bittersten Thränen". (186)

"Ich war ruhig da ich anfang, und nun wein ich wie ein Kind, da mir all das so lebhaft um mich wird." (187)

26. "Ich sah ihr Auge thränenvoll . . . Klopstock!"  
"Ich ertrugs nicht, neigte mich auf ihre Hand und küßte sie unter den wonnevollsten Thränen." ((43-44), 16. Juny 1771)

"Weynachtsabend hältst Du diese Papier in Deiner Hand, zitterst und benezt es mit Deinen lieben Thränen" (189)

(Ossian): "Ich sitze in meinem Jammer, ich harre auf den Morgen in meinen Thränen." (197) "Seiner Schwester Augen waren voll Thränen - Minonas Augen waren voll Thränen . . . roth sein thränendes Auge". (198) "Keine Mutter hast du, dich zu beweinen, kein Mädchen mit Thränen der Liebe. . . . Weine, Vater Morars! Weine!" (200)

27. Clearly Heinse distances himself from the terms "zärtlich", or, "Zärtlichkeit", where they denote *Empfindsamkeit*. (He refers to Georg Jacobi as "die personificirte Zärtlichkeit Jacobi" (IX, 147.)) Sauder (op.cit., I, 193-210) classifies the early phase of *Empfindsamkeit* (1740-1750) as "Zärtlichkeit", and quotes the definition of the term from J.H. Campe's *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* of 1807-1811:

1) Der Zustand, die Eigenschaft eines Dinges, da es zärtlich ist; . . . ohne Mehrzahl.

2) Der Zustand, die Eigenschaft, da man oder etwas zärtlich ist; . . . , und die Empfindung der Liebe, des Wohlwollens im hohen Grade; ohne Mehrzahl. (My underlining)

J.H.Campe restricts the use of the term "Zärtlichkeit" to the singular, which makes Heinse's use of the plural form all the more striking, when he puts into the mouth of Demetri the loveliest, and briefest, formulation of his erotic/ecstatic cosmic vision:

die lustschwebenden ätherischen Zärtlichkeiten.  
(IV,280;RA,267)

There is none of the banality here the term tends towards in its *Empfindsamkeit* association, where it is the quality of the soft-hearted, and those capable of gentle feelings (Sauder, op.cit.,I,194). There is no special emphasis on that tender - often tearfully so - feeling of benevolence towards another person, or towards the world generally. There is here rather, in the context of the cosmogony Demetri presents on a high lyrical plane, in the "Schwung" of a "lyrischen Taumel" (IV,286;RA,273), a focus on an infinite multitude of substances eternally seeking pleasurable union with one another, (hence the vitally important plural): "das Weltall als himmelunendliche Menge solcher Substanzen mit ewigem Streben nach neuem Genuß"(IV,318;RA,303). All this - "ein Wesen", "dieß Eins", the creative life force, produces out of itself "in möglichster Lust" (IV,319;RA,304), for its own eternal diversion, in ever-varying new form:

Form und Wesen, und Wesen und Form! das sind die zwey  
Pole des Weltalls, um welche sich alles herumdreht.  
(IV,320;RA,304)

Ecstasy, in the form of the "Zaubergürtel" of Urania, binds together this eternal process "in tobendem Entzücken", and with it Love, "der süße Genuß aller Naturen für einander"(IV,283;RA,270). It is into this context one

has to fit Heinse's use of "Zärtlichkeiten".<sup>28</sup> It takes the brutishness out of a term like "Grundtriebe [der Natur]" and at the same time invests the grand ecstatic cosmic vision with the intimate charm of its basic connotation with inter-human relationships:

Die Natur hat sich aus eigenen Grundtrieben dieß Spiel von Werden und Auflösen so zubereitet, um immer in neuen Gefühlen seelig fortzuschweben; und unser Beruf ist es, dieß zu erkennen, und glückseelig zu seyn. (IV,288;RA,275)

Heinse then is not to be associated with *Empfindsamkeit*-*"Zärtlichkeit"*. When it comes to *Empfindsamkeit*-*"Thränen"*, the situation is similar. As early as the opening of *Laidion*, where the narrator "weint' einige wollüstigbittre Zähren" of utter triteness, the basic non-involvement of the writer is apparent in the entirely imaginary scene. However, a tellingly different reaction comes from Heinse when he can focus on concrete reality, in this case a small Michelangelo painting of the crucifixion:

Die Mutter ist ein hohes Weib, noch in unverwelkter Schönheit, ihres Adels bewußt, die über die Grausamkeit zürnt, welche man an dem Sohn ausübt, sein ganzes Leiden fühlt *mit dem weinenden Feuerblick*: aber in der Zerknirschung noch solche Festigkeit und Erleuchtung hat, um erhabener als eine Niobe dabey zu stehen und anzuschauen. (IV,176;RA,167-168;my italics)

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28. DW lists a number of examples of the use of the plural "Zärtlichkeiten": Hagedorn, "die Macht gereizter Zärtlichkeiten"; J.A.Ebert: "Wahr ist es, deutsche Zärtlichkeiten sind welschen nicht an Milde gleich"; Wieland: "Tausend Zärtlichkeiten, die ich fyle"; Goethe: "Sie überhäufte das Kind mit Zärtlichkeiten". None of these comes anywhere near the sheer size the connotations of the word assume in Heinse's hands.

"Zärtlichkeit" is rare in Werther's vocabulary, and only conventionally used. The eldest of Lotte's brothers kisses her hand "mit aller Zärtlichkeit, die dem Alter von funfzehn Jahren eigen seyn kann".((33),16.Juny 1771)



The element of tears is here absorbed in a phrase which demonstrates what Hettner (Appendix 1,10)) called "die seltene Gabe, das Eigenartige bildender Kunst mit offenem greifendem Auge zu fühlen" on the part of Heinse, combined with the ability to let his reader share in this experience. Moreover, this open-eyed searching gaze discerns nuances of facial expressions - as in the daughters of Leukippos - which testify to a highly sensitive observer.

When the narrator describes Ardinghello's departure from Venice it is almost as if he avoids the word for tears deliberately because of its *Empfindsamkeit* connotations which clash with the image of a "Kernmensch" who, though deeply feeling, is not sentimental. "Feuchtigkeit" entering the eye serves the purpose: Ardinghello looks back, deeply moved, but steadily, "mit unverwandten Augen; die Feuchtigkeit trat hinein"(IV,24;RA,25). It is striking how Heinse "freezes" the emotionally charged moment to the immobility of a painting for which Ardinghello acts as sitter (he seats himself and gazes unwaveringly). In fact the whole scene is captured in the short paragraph with the objectivity of a painter covering his canvas:

Als wir eine Strecke vom großen Kanal entfernt waren,  
(the general lay-out)  
setzte sich Ardinghello aufs Verdeck der Barke,  
(the pose sketched in)  
und blickte tief gerührt nach der Stadt mit unverwandten  
(the static head) Augen;  
die Feuchtigkeit trat hinein  
(the brush creates the swimming eye, the poignant moment)  
und sein Herz ward erweicht. Seine Seele schien zu  
ahnden, daß er sie nie wieder sehen sollte.  
(the expression of the face)  
So wälzen die Schicksale den Menschen fort, wie die  
Fluthen des Meeres einen schwachen Trümmer!  
(the rather long reflective title of the painting!)  
die Sonne war eben aufgegangen, und die Thürme, Kirchen,  
Palläste und Inseln lagen da im dünnen Nebel.  
(the background).

Heinse then not only makes no attempt to exploit the farewell scene as an "Empfindler" surely would, but he even carefully minimizes any emotional content here by as nearly as possible turning his writer's pen into the necessarily more limited painter's brush. Inexorable fate (a foreshadowing of the last sentence of the novel) is recognised in stoic, manly acceptance, not bewailed. The same goes for the realisation of the finality of the parting, the "Niewiedersehen", which has none of Philotas's or Werther's collapse of composure. Ardinghello's heart "ward erweicht": the passive construction here suggests emotion as caused by an outside agent, rather than the *Empfindsamkeit* notion which encourages self-induced inner agitation. Important is also the release through the aesthetic impact implied by the last sentence, which counteracts the pain of parting for Ardinghello and retains his equilibrium in a way Werther is fatally unable to experience.

A similar pictorial impression is given when Ardinghello embraces Cäcilia for the first time. It has some of the theatricality of a tableau (reminiscent of the popular pastime of "Gemäldedarstellungen" of the age which feature also for instance in Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften*) since there is neither speech nor movement in the "sonderbare Scene", as Ardinghello himself calls it, apart from the uncheckably rolling tears:

Uns verging die Sprache, und wir saßen lang, eine schmerz-  
lich entzückende Stille, in heißer Empfindung aneinander  
gegossen. Mir rollten endlich unaufhaltbare Thränen  
übers Gesicht von dem wüthenden Kampf im Innern.  
(IV, 51; RA, 49)

When Ardinghello remembers his parting from Fiordimona, her sublimity ("groß und edel! erhabnes Wesen!") lends her tears a grandeur beyond human level, distancing any poignancy, as does the fact that she is referred to only by abstracts as "Herz und alle Freude" and "Wesen". This style has no aim of evoking a tearful response in the readership with the vague "Zähren des tiefsten Gefühls":

Ich reise vorwärts, und meine Phantasie rückwärts;  
Herz und alle Freude ist in Rom geblieben. Zähren  
des tiefsten Gefühls rannen unaufhaltbar hervor  
mit ihren letzten heißen Seelenblicken; wir schieden  
aus glühender Umarmung. O sie liebt mich, groß  
und edel! erhabnes Wesen! (IV,335;RA.318)

The positive and negative elements in the sentence are in fact perfectly balanced:

Positive.	Negative
Ich reise vorwärts	meine Phantasie rückwärts
heiße Seelenblicke	Herz und Freude ... geblieben
glühende Umarmung	Zähren des tiefsten Gefühls
O sie liebt mich	wir schieden

By comparison Werther's parting from Lotte at the end of the first part is all negative:

Ach sie wußte nicht -  
sie gingen hinaus ... ich stand  
warf mich an die Erde  
weinte mich aus  
sah noch ... ihr ... Kleid schimmern  
ich streckte meine Arme hinaus  
es verschwand.

The language of a passage by Heinse like the one above with its sweeping abstracts shows Fiordimona as what she really is: a dream figure, just like Ardinghello, in spite of the historical and geographical details lending them some authenticity.

Henry Hatfield (op.cit.,p.79)<sup>29</sup> makes the point that Heinse presents orgies as "pictures - *ut pictura poesis*". Instances of tears could also be included here. Tears feature in the "Künstlerbacchanal" (IV,205-208;RA,195-197). where the tableau-like character of the scene is demonstrated by theatrical references like "weiblich Schauspiel", and by the actual enacting of scenes from fables and plays. The tears shining in the eyes of the revellers here show Heinse's intention of emphasizing the Dionysian setting in its function as a sacred ritual, a "Götterfest":

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29. Hatfield also finds that at the same time Heinse's "rendering of paintings and statues" is "usually erotic". M.L.Baeumer, having earlier acknowledged Hatfield, confirms these findings: "Heinse beschreibt den Liebesgenuß wie ein farbiges Bild und das Kunstwerk wie einen erotischen Akt. Darin besteht seine Beschreibungstechnik . . .". (RA, 684).

However, whereas the first part of these findings - the "pictorialisation" of erotic acts in the novel - is evident throughout, the "eroticizing" of works of art in the novel is not so "usual" that the term "Beschreibungstechnik" can be applied overall.

The following descriptions of paintings and sculptures in *Ardinghello* do not bear the slightest trace of eroticism:

Paintings:

Paul Veronese, *Die Hochzeit zu S.Giorgio Maggiore* (IV,17; RA,18-19); *Die Familie des Darius beym Alexander* (IV,17; RA,18). Tizian, *Peter der Märtyrer* (IV,47;RA,45). Michelangelo, [copied by Venusti], *Christus am Kreuz* (IV,174;RA,168). Raphael, *Die Theologie* (IV,214;RA,205); *Die Schule von Athen* (IV,214-215;RA,206); *Der Farnas* (IV,215;RA,206); *Die Gerechtigkeit* (ibid.); *Heliodor* (IV,216,RA,208); *Attila* (IV,218;RA,209); *Das Wunder bey der Messe* (ibid.); *Petrus befreyt aus dem Gefängnisse* (ibid.); *Leo der vierte* (IV,219;RA,210); *Die Krönung Karls des großen* (IV,220;RA,211); *Gerechtigkeit und Güte* (ibid.); *Die Schlacht Konstantins* (IV,221;RA,212); *Die Anrede Konstantins* (ibid.); *Die Schenkung Konstantins* (IV,221; RA,212); *Abnehmung vom Kreuz* (IV,341;RA,323); ditto by Correggio (IV,341;RA,324); *Krönung der Mutter Gottes* (IV,342-345;RA,324-327); *Die Verklärung* (IV,225;RA,216). Sculptures: *Der Apollo* (IV,257-260;RA,246-248); *Zwey junge Ringer* (IV,351;RA,332); *Merkur* (IV,351;RA,333).

Es ging immer tiefer ins Leben, und das Fest wurde heiliger; die Augen glänzten vor Freudenthränen, die Lippen bebten, die Herzen wallten vor Freude. (IV, 207, RA, 196)

"Die Augen" here means "everyone's eyes"; and such communal tears must lack any personal relevance of the kind so striking in *Werther*. So here again there is a coolness in the way Heinse deals with tears. Cäcilia's tears, when news of her bridegroom's death reaches her, appear at first genuine:

"O Gott, welch ein Vermählungsfest!" schluchzte sie, und die Thränen stürzten ihr aus den Augen. (IV, 82; RA, 78)

However, these are tears of pretended sorrow, making Benedikt exclaim: "O ihr Weiber, wer erreicht je Eure Verstellung!" So here too Heinse keeps any tearful emotionalism firmly at bay by the play-acting function. Much later Cäcilia unburdens her "angeschwollnes Herz" to Benedikt, and, relieved, "weinte wie ein Kind". These are therapeutic tears, restoring Cäcilia's balance. This balancing element (already noted above in the paragraph describing Ardinghello's departure from Venice) here shown by "angeschwollen" (pressure) and "weinen" (relief from the pressure), is frequently present in Heinse's style and subtly contributes to that sense of well-being transmitted by Heinse's language to the reader. The opposite is true of the language of *Werther*. *Werther* cries like a child ((187), 20. Dez. 1772) after dwelling at length on the setting of his grave (very negative with terms like "nach dem Kirchhofe"; "nach meinem Grabe"; "im Schein der sinkenden Sonne"); his weeping is the culminating symbol of his hopelessness.

Fulvia in *Ardinghello* who temporarily loses her mind when thwarted by Ardinghello (who just this once put morality above natural inclination) may be linked with Werther, since the fate of both finds a response in tears:

Wer sie kennt, vergießt Thränen über ihr Schicksal;  
ganz Genua trauert. Weide Dich! barbarische Moral,  
Feindin des Lebendigen, mit Wolfsgrimm hier an  
Deinem Opfer! (IV,140;RA,133)

Here the first sentence might well be expanded by a second exploring its *Empfindsamkeit* potential. Ardinghello instead continues in a *Sturm und Drang* tone of such sheer strength that the reader stands in no danger of dissolving in *Empfindsamkeit* tears. The bitingly vehement denunciation of morality: "Weide Dich! . . .", the exclamatory style, the animal/abstract compound "Wolfsgrimm" (like "Löwenmuth" or "Adlerstärke") all belong to the *Sturm und Drang*. By contrast the editor of Werther's letters seems to be positively encouraging tears with his statement: "Ihr könnt . . . seinem Schicksale eure Thränen nicht versagen" (Preface). The address "Ihr" and "du gute Seele" in this context conjures up a vision of an intimate small group of *Empfindsamen* of the kind J.G.Jacobi read to from Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*. He reports with satisfaction:<sup>30</sup>

Wir sahen einander stillschweigend an; ein jeder freuete sich, in den Augen des andern Thränen zu finden.

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30. Letter to Gleim, 4 April 1769, quoted from Sauder, *Empfindsamkeit*, III, p.213.

From Werther may come a last, and harrowing, reference to tears:

Ihre Gegenwart, ihr Schicksal, ihr Theilnehmen an dem meinigen, preßt noch die letzten Thränen aus meinem versengten Gehirn. (178)

The image of tears being painfully forced from an arid brain encapsulates the unendurable pressure Werther was suffering. With amazing empathy Heinse was able to re-articulate this same state for the reader as "der ganze Kopf ein Gefühl von Thräne", and that, although the unrelieved brimming fullness his phrase indicates is the opposite of the empty aridity Werther is conscious of.<sup>31</sup> It is intriguing to note that Goethe resorts to fire imagery ("versengt") to bring out the extreme agony in Werther's mind. Since fire imagery is of particular significance in *Ardinghello*, it may be profitable to make it the next object of attention here.

#### 4. FIRE IMAGERY IN *ARDINGHELLO* AND *WERTHER*

Only one memorable instance of the use of fire imagery occurs in *Werther*. It describes Werther's reaction when he inadvertently touches Lotte:

Ich ziehe zurück wie vom Feuer, und eine geheime Kraft zieht mich wieder vorwärts, mir wirds so schwindlich vor allen Sinnen. ((66); 16. Juli 1771)

The same force of "das Lebendige" is at work here which in Goethe's poem 'Selige Sehnsucht' (HA, II, 18) is praised

31. Compare also the letter of 3. November 1772 (158) where Werther prays for tears and likens himself to a "versiegter Brunn", and a "verlechter Eymer".

in its longing for "Flammentod", and which there finds the solution in "Stirb und werde!". For Werther there is no such way out, he shrinks back from the force symbolized by fire which disorientates him dizzyingly in its attraction and the simultaneously realised portent of danger. Apart from one more example, "glühende Freuden" ((174) 17. Dezember 1772) referring to Werther's dream of holding Lotte in his arms, there is no fire imagery in Werther's letters.<sup>32</sup> The remembered dream is followed by the lament: "Und mit mir ist's aus! Meine Sinnen verwirren sich". So here too, as in the "schwindlich werden" before, the fire imagery is associated with a confused and disturbed consciousness in Werther; and the term "versengtes Gehirn" similarly employs an element of fire to indicate a serious interference with the workings of the brain.

Heinse's fire imagery, not only in *Ardinghello*, but throughout his writing, always stems from a sense of affinity with the element of fire. This means that his Self may always be taken to be projected into it to some extent even when the speaker is the narrator or a fictional character. This association with "fire" does not appear to be just the commonplace of his time,<sup>33</sup> a convenient self-promoting label as the fortunate

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32. "Feuerstrahl"(197) and "Feuerwolke"(202) from the Ossian translation are not included here.

33. The striking number of fire attributes with which Heinse is surrounded confirms this impression. They go beyond the almost commonplace application of the term in the *Geniezeit* context, where "fire" was almost the prerequisite of a poetic nature, the "Portion von Göttlichkeit" thrifty Mother Nature reserves for the very few. (I,149; published in 1770). As early as 1770 Wieland



possessor of the divine spark, i.e. the poetic fire, although Heinse certainly also sees himself in this light. He seems to feel genuinely close to the element of fire. Recovering from an illness, though still "schwer-müthig und finster, wie eine Ossianische Nebelsäule" he continues in his letter to J.G.Jacobi of 27 January 1775:

Doch hoff' ich, bald wieder gesund zu werden, denn das Feuer scheint mein Element zu seyn, wenn es mich verzehrt, so belebt es mich auch wieder. (IX,234)

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introduced Heinse to Gleim as having "unläugbar viel Genie, viel Feuer". (*Wielands Briefwechsel*, IV, p.225) In 1773, again to Gleim, Wieland states: "Der Mensch hat eine glühende Phantasie, deshalb sind seine Gemälde kräftig und warm bis zum Brennen". (ZZ, p.2) In 1774 he distances himself from the "Feuerseele" Heinse (ZZ, p.7), while Gleim still craves Wieland's indulgence on behalf of the youthful "Feuergenius", and refers to a letter by Heinse as "voll Flammen". (ZZ, p.7)

To F.Matthisson he is "der Feuerkopf Heinse", "welchem das Herz zu entbrennen schien". (1786, publ.1812; ZZ, p.17)

With the appearance of *Ardinghello* and the prominence Heinse himself gives to consuming fire in his preface fable, references to this, like F.v.Stolberg's: "mit vielem Geist und Feuer geschrieben, aber der Geist ist ein böser Geist, das Feuer verzehrend", are not exactly original.

W.Sömmerring, son of T.Sömmerring, Heinse's best friend, reminisces in 1840 that warm southern skies were the true habitat of Heinse's "Feuerseele". (ZZ, p.51)

F.Hebbel, looking back to Heinse, also in 1840, sees him as "eine Feuerwolke, die Deutschland erst dann am Himmel bemerkte, nachdem sie durch einen ihrer Blitze ein paar elende Bauerhütten in Brand gesteckt hatte". (ZZ, p.50)

And Heinse's old friend Klammer Schmidt remembers from their time in Halberstadt together that all Heinse's conversation was electrifying, ("elektrisches Feuer") (ZZ, p.30), and constantly fired by his imagination ("mit stets aufglühender Phantasie") (ZZ, p.1).

This sentence again shows Heinse's stylistic characteristic of balancing out a negative statement ("verzehrt mich") with a positive one ("belebt ... mich"), restoring a feeling of basic harmony. The sentence also reveals a kinship with Nietzsche.<sup>34</sup> In Nietzsche's poem 'Das Feuerzeichen',<sup>35</sup> for instance the speaker is closely associated with fire; identifies with it in fact:

Meine Seele selber ist diese Flamme:  
unersättlich nach neuen Fernen.

Also, in the poem 'Ecce Homo':<sup>36</sup>

Ja! Ich weiß, woher ich stamme!/ Ungesättigt gleich  
der Flamme/ Glühe und verzehr ich mich./ Licht wird  
alles, was ich fasse,/ Kohle alles, was ich lasse:/  
Flamme bin ich sicherlich!

This, however, is not "Heinsean" fire. In 'Das Feuerzeichen' Zarathustra *himself becomes* fire ("auf dem Berge wurde er zur Flamme") in the insatiable yearning and search for the final loneliness, ("meine siebente, letzte Einsamkeit"). And in 'Ecce Homo' it is the ever-unsated

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34. This kinship with Nietzsche has often been noted. E.Ermatinger, a predominantly hostile critic of Heinse states: "Man könnte ihn [Heinse] den Nietzsche des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts nennen". (*Deutsche Dichter*, I, p.265)

F.G.Schneider sees Heinse in his new moral stance as a "Vorläufer Nietzsches".  
*Die deutsche Dichtung der Geniezeit*, III,2, p.327.

M.L.Baeumer finds "eine gemeinsame seelische Disposition zu ihrer dionysischen Aesthetik" in Heinse and Nietzsche. 'Heinse und Nietzsche', in *Heinse-Studien*, pp.93-123 (especially p.123).

Walther Brecht was the first to speak of a "geistige Verwandtschaft" between Heinse and Nietzsche.  
*Heinse und der ästhetische Immoralismus*, p.67.

35. *Der Anti-Christ, Ecce Homo, Dionysos-Dithyramben*, Goldmann edition, p.211.

36. *Friedrich Nietzsche. Werke in drei Bänden*, ed. K.Schlechta, II, p.32

quality of fire which forms the centre of the image, to the extent of the self consuming itself: "verzehr ich mich". Heinse's fire imagery does not stand for such ever-unfulfilled longing, nor has it that apparently self-endangering quality, it is altogether "healthier", as the quotation above shows, where fire, an out-side agent, consumes and re-vitalises: "es verzehrt und belebt". Fire is Life, full Life in greatest movement, in the great scheme where Life<sup>37</sup> is ever-victorious:

Leben und Tod; daraus ist alles zusammengesetzt. Das Leben ist immer in Bewegung; und der Tod das, woran sich das Leben hält. Licht ist dünnes Leben in der schnellsten Bewegung, volles Leben in der schnellsten Bewegung Feuer. Das allgemeine Leben ist Gott, oder die Natur, wie du nennen willst. Das Leben zehrt den Tod auf; und nicht der Tod das Leben.  
(VIII,1,14)

One may at this point draw a conclusion concerning Heinse's style which arises out of this comparison between the different applications of fire imagery by Goethe in *Werther*, by Nietzsche, and by Heinse. The "empfindsame" Werther shrinks from the dizzying peril of fire, and thus, in Heinse's sense, from Life: a kind of doom-laden downwardness, a leaning towards Death runs in an ever steeper decline through the style as an indirect result. With Nietzsche, too, Death appears to be present as an element in the self-inflicted ravages the identification of the self with fire produces on

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37. Comparison with Jacobi reveals a completely opposite outlook: "Alles Endliche gebiert den Tod, und vertilgt so gar zuletzt das Bild an Gottheit". (However, the acceptance of inevitable decay ("schwarz werden" at the end of the first *Gemähldebrief* seems to acknowledge Jacobi's view.)

Letter to Hamann, 1783, *Aus Jacobis Nachlaß*, p.58.

the inner consciousness. This is not so with Heinse. The aphoristic paragraph above (from the opening jottings in his first notebook in 1774), is a paradigm of his general stance towards existence which imbues his style with what one might term an air of optimistic realism. Death is accepted as part of the composite picture - and is firmly subordinated to Life. The word "Leben" begins and ends the passage, it outnumbers Death by eight to four, the word "Bewegung" occurs thrice, and the phrase "volles Leben ... Feuer" forms the heart of the statement. It is curious how, when reading *Werther*, one feels oneself dragged down apprehensively with the unfortunate young man, the "arme Werther", from the moment the editor appeals to the reader's compassion right up to the bleakness of the last line, so convincing is Goethe's psychological insight, and so effective his technique.<sup>38</sup> The comparative absence of fire imagery and its negative application when it does occur, contribute to the effect. With Nietzsche, although he places Zarathustra on a mountain top and has him lighting "Höhenfeuer", the uplift of the spirit the reader might therefore be assumed to experience is never able to come about very easily because of the gnawing yearning the fire image represents. With Heinse who equates "Feuer" with "volles Leben" the reader is in a different, an ardent, but balanced world, not always teetering on some brink of despair because of unresolvable and often self-

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38. For a comprehensive survey of Goethe's "Erzählweise" in *Werther* see H. Flaschka, op.cit., pp.179-207.

induced pressure. The underlying sanity rises from Heinse's style like the fresh scent of the country after a shower on a warm summer's day, very much like the "erquikkendste Wohlgeruch . . . in aller Fülle einer warmen Luft" which so moves Lotte and Werther ((43) 16.Juny 1771). It might indeed have been better for Werther, if Lotte, instead of "Klopstock!" had been able to say "Heinse!" at this moment. Taking note of *his* outlook might have saved him from the onrush of tearful unbearable ("ich ertrugs nicht") emotion, "wonnevoll", but also dangerously excessive and de-stabilising.

Admittedly there can also be friction for Ardinghello and thus a kind of stress associated with that motivating fiery restlessness and quest for the new, inherent in human nature:

Sieh die Inseln der Glückseeligkeit vor Dir, mit vor Verlangen kochendem Herzen nach ihrer Lust, von üppigem Muth alle Nerven geschwellt: und widerstehe mit kalter Ueberlegung der Gefahren, die vielleicht auf Dich warten, indeß der günstigste Wind über Dir in den Gipfeln hinsäuselt! Was ist das, daß der Mensch so nach Ruhe trachtet, und sie hernach doch nicht leiden kann? Daß das Ziel keins mehr für ihn ist, so bald er es erreicht hat, und er immer ein neues haben muß? Ach, unser Wesen hat keinen Frieden, und Brand und Gluth in und über alles ist dessen erste Urkraft! (IV, 212; RA, 203)

Ardinghello is moved to utter these words, having newly fallen in love again, in spite of the lessons of the unhappy Lucinde affair. One might be forgiven for seeing the passage as a lament for man's innate contrariness, especially because of the "Ach" exclamation, were it not for the second half of the last sentence. Moreover, "Ach" is a rarity in Heinse's vocabulary.<sup>39</sup> It may well have

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39. M.L.Baeumer, *Das Dionysische*, p.107

been inserted here by Heinse as a veiling and placating device, with the "gentle reader" in mind, for whom the otherwise blunt final aphoristic acknowledgment of fire as the vital impulse of being needed to be softened. A line or two before the quoted passage Ardinghello states: "Alles muß seiner Natur folgen". The implication of the passage thus becomes in fact a reiteration of the fire fable theme symbolising the spirit of Ardinghello in its elemental "Urkraft": "Ich, was mich betrifft, bin überall Feuer".

A few more examples of Heinse's use of "ach" may briefly be included here. Perhaps because Heinse uses the word so sparingly its occurrences are the more memorable, such as when it enhances the appeal of youthful beauty: "Ach, wie sie blühte!"(IV,51,RA,48); or the beauty of an evening: "Ach, es war in der That ein schöner Abend!" (IV,372;RA,353); or, summing up the eternal human quest for knowledge of the unknowable:

Ach Gott, wer wüßte, was das Licht wäre, das so  
schön leuchtet, und es erkennen könnte!(IV,373,VII,66;  
RA,353)

Heinse slips "ach" into Ardinghello's long eloquent farewell to Italy: "Lebe wohl, schönes Italien, lebe wohl! . . .". It lifts the passage to a peak of poignancy especially following "Wohl" instead of "Lebe wohl", as if choking with emotion:

Lebt wohl Ihr Höhen des Apennin und Ihr entzückenden  
Thäler! Wohl Du königlicher Po, und Du Tyber und  
Arno! ach, und Ihr klaren Quellen des Clitumnus! Ein  
günstiger Wind schwellt die Segel, und ich flieg  
Ionien entgegen. (IV,383,RA,362-363)

"Ach" also articulates Ardinghello's sadness at the

realisation that art ("Traum und Schatten") is not the sphere in which he will find fulfilment: "Ach, scheiden von der Kunst überhaupt! Sie ist meine Bestimmung nicht". The wrench is painful though, enough to provoke a second "ach", reinforced with "aber":

Aber ach, Scheiden ist der eigentliche Tod, vor dem die Natur schaudert! mein Leben blutet, und ich kann mich noch nicht ganz los reißen. (IV, 241; RA, 230)

The double "ach" emphasising the anguish of parting serves a second important purpose: it justifies Heinse in letting Ardinghello, unable to tear himself away, give one last grand survey of the famous art treasures in Rome. This takes up over twenty pages (IV, 241-265; RA, 230-253) and ends with a reaffirmation of his anti-Winckelmann stance - the small word "ach" assuming a large *raison d'être*. The impression gained here is that when Heinse employs the word "ach" he exploits its rhetorical possibilities subtly. In *Werther* "ach" is a frequent and important negative highlight which often denotes unrealised potential: "Ach, könntest du ...", "Ach, wenn ...", "Ach, diese Lücke!", and many more.

Returning to the examination of Heinse's fire imagery, a sign of his early interest in the subject is shown in the fact that he discusses it in detail in *Laidion* (III, 97-98). He explains that empirically-observable fire can aid in visualising abstract concepts like "Bewegung" ("die Quelle aller Dinge", "die Schöpferin und Zerstörerinnen und Erhalterinnen")

of "Natur"). In this way God, the all-pervading giver of "Leben" and "Bewegung" may be presented as "die selbstständige Masse von Feuer durch die ganze Natur". The Heinsean leitmotif that Life>equals-motion>equals-fire, and Death equals stillness or coldness is partly expressed in an aphorism in the same passage: "Alles, was ohne Bewegung ist, ist todt"(III,97). By 1779 it has become a real Heinsean punch-line:

Der Zustand der Ruhe, ist Zustand der Kälte, des Todes.  
Leben, Bewegung, Feuer, neue Jugend einerley. (VIII,1,166)

When in *Ardinghello* Demetri proclaims fire as the "König der Elemente", superior to air, the fire/life aphorism is echoed, almost cryptic now in the brevity of the following maxim:

Alle lebendige Wesen würden eine Art von Flamme seyn; Feuer so über Luft, wie Bewegung des Lichts gegen Schall. (IV,281;RA,268)

Demetri, experiencing Socratic pleasure at the philosophical spark being kindled between him and Ardinghello, himself manifests the vitalizing effect of this kind of fire by his eyes becoming "lebendiger":

O, wie lieb ich das, rief Demetri mir mit lebendigern Augen froh lächelnd zu, wenn so einer aus dem andern Funken schlägt! O könnten wir uns ein Licht machen, und einander einen Pharos anzünden in diesem nächtlichen Meer, wo Boreas und Süd und Ost und West verschiedener Meinungen stürmisch ungestüme Wogen wälzen! (IV;281;RA,268-269)

The style of this passage saves Demetri's speech from being too scholarly, or, to use J.C.Adelung's phrase "unter der kaltblütigen Herrschaft der Vernunft"(Styl, 1.Theil,p.457). Adelung's re-interpretation of traditional rhetoric for the eighteenth century, listing ways of promoting "Gemüthsbewegungen und Leidenschaften" in



the reader, is adhered to here by Heinse in such points as exclamation, and polysyndeton, but not in the point "Abgebrochenheit". The language of Werther's letters does gain much of its pathos from the many sentences broken off half-way or barely started, demonstrating the increasingly only partially articulated "Gemüthsbewegungen" of Werther. By contrast one of the characteristics of Heinse's language is its flow. It transcends in a

freer, more modern approach the regimentation imposed by Adelung in his painstaking work on style. But the real Heinsean touch in the passage above lies in the final crescendo-like intensification which he achieves in the wave metaphor denoting the conflicting diversity of opinion, in the last four words of the sentence. The alliteration "stü" is combined here with a chiasmus, producing a choppy rhythm, to which the "w" alliteration and the two long vowels in the last two words add a breaker-like sound effect, especially with the curly "lz" in the last word - a brilliant poetic recapturing of the clamour of dissenting voices.

When it comes to demonstrating Ardinghello's closeness to the element of fire Heinse's language is not at first remarkably innovative. Ardinghello's eyes "flash" fire ("die Augen sprühten Licht und Feuer")(IV,8;RA,9), and the narrator responds: "mir wallte das Herz, es regte sich eine Gluth darinnen". On their second meeting Benedikt finds himself "durchbrannt" by Ardinghello's fire (IV,20;RA;20). Then, however, when Benedikt relates

the appeal of Ardinghello's singing, the language becomes  
in H.R.Sprengel's phrase,<sup>40</sup> "ganz heinsisch":

Es war bezaubernd, dem jungen Schwärmer zuzuhören,  
und wie in lächelnder Kühnheit das Feuer aus ihm wehte.  
(IV,42;RA,40)

Fire wafts from Ardinghello, the outward "lächelnde Kühnheit" an indication of the strength of his core from which the fire comes, so that the reader may conclude: "der Kern ist Stärke, aus Feuer".<sup>41</sup> The verb "wehen" fits into *Pietismus* language,<sup>42</sup> but for Heinse it brings that fresh breezy dynamism which makes his writing so perpetually exhilarating, as also in this (transitive!) example:

[Sokrates] betete die Sonne an, als ihre reine volle  
Feuersphäre über die östlichen Gipfel Strahlen  
des Lebens wehte. (IV,290;RA,277)

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40. *Naturanschauung und malerisches Empfinden bei Wilhelm Heinse*, p.3.

41. Heinse's comment on the operas of Gluck. (VIII,1,530)

"Kern", a most Heinsean concept, (cf. "Kernmensch"), is here linked with fire.

Demetri, "viel Kern mit wenig Schale", is himself a "Kernmensch" with this essential predominance of "Kern". (IV,273;RA,261). Being freely and effectively active in accordance with one's potential marks the "Kernmensch" (as also the "großer Mensch"): "Wirken, frey und mächtig handeln nach Art seiner Natur! Dieß sey die allererste und ursprünglichste Glückseeligkeit". (Ibid.)

In the descriptions of Raphael's paintings Heinse speaks of the painter's "kernhafter Styl" (IV,227;RA,218) which together with his "Gestaltenphantasie" brings a living immediacy to the whole. In the painting-description of Justice the "Kern" image retains its connotation with the real, the edible: "Seele und Auge" of the experienced observer "müssen sich daran wie an süßem Kern weiden". (IV,215; RA,207). Similarly, in the description of the waterfall: "Ein Kunstwerk so vollkommen in seiner Art . . . und doch so völlig wie kunstlos, nährt des Menschen Geist wie lauter kräftiger Kern". (IV,365;RA,346)

The definition of Demetri above shows the complementary concept in connection with "Kern", namely, that of the hindering "Schale". The Rousseau-indebted idea of the

One other factor contributing to the peculiarly Heinsean quality of the sentence above, starting "Es war bezaubernd", is the bold syntax. The important second half of the sentence is dependent on the main clause "Es war bezaubernd", yet "und", which is there because something is being added to the information contained in the preceding infinitive, puts up a barrier to the main clause, and in effect makes "wie ... wehte" appear like an exclamation. This appearance is aided by the true exclamatory form of the next sentence:

Wie oft haben wir hernach in heitern Nächten uns  
in den See gestürzt!

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encumbering effect of civilisation becomes the "Schale" of the clothed figure in art, preventing access to the "klaren, frischen Genuß" of the "Natur" ("wahre Kunst", "das Lebendige") of the nude figure. Whatever the garment may be it is "ein Flecken, eine Schale, die . . . hemmt und hindert". (IV, 19; RA, 19-20)

Heinse resorts to a fire image to make clear the dampening weight on the artistic creative spirit imposed by this concentration on draperies:

"Die Kleider, womit sich die bildende Kunst schleppen muß, sind das fatalste für einen Mann von Genie, der darin arbeitet; . . . . Es löscht alles Feuer aus, während sich der Geist mit solchem jämmerlichen Zeug abgeben muß." (VIII, 1, 530). And earlier he affirms: "Die Kunst zieht die Kleider aus, wenn sie den Menschen vorstellt; sie will ihn, und nicht seine Kleider zeigen, die höchstens nur die Aufmerksamkeit der Damen und Schneider und Putzmacherinnen auf sich ziehen können." (529) (Winckelmann also deplored the draperies of Bernini's figures.)

Heinse speaks of Naples as "eine junge Liebesgöttin aus dem Meer, die durch ihre eigene Schönheit prangt, und weder Juwelen noch Perlen hat". (VII, 64) He continues: "Die Natur kann das unnütze Ueberflüßige nicht leiden, und wenn gleich alle Kritiker sich plagen, es ihr anhängen zu wollen." Thus Naples symbolises "Kern" without "Schale".

42. Langen, *Pietismus*, p. 475. Examples from *Werther* are: ". . . weht der Geist des Ewigschaffenden" ((93); 18. Aug.), "fühle . . . das Wehen des Allliebenden" ((9); 10. May). Air rather than fire is the element involved here.

Exclamatory "wie" clauses form a notable stylistic element in *Ardinghello* and *Werther*, so much so that they may be given a brief survey here before continuing the focus on Heinse's fire imagery. Exclamations bring about "Gemüthsbewegungen", as Adelung had noted, and the first word in *Werther*'s first letter is: "Wie froh bin ich", and a number of "wie" clauses occur throughout the work, almost like signposts along the road of *Werther*'s doomed progress:

Wie oft lull ich mein empörendes Blut zur Ruhe((11), 13.May); Wie ich mich in den schwarzen Augen weidete, wie die lebendigen Lippen . . . anzogen, wie ich . . . versunken((36)16.Juny); wie wohl ist mir's((48);21.Juny); wie viel hängt vom Körper ab!((54)1.July); wie war das all so anders!((147)21.Aug.1772); wie mich die Gestalt verfolgt((171)6.Dez.); wie gern hätt ich all mein Menschseyn drum gegeben((173)8.Dez.)

In *Ardinghello* "wie" serves a variety of purposes. For instance the familiarity with a Klopstock-*Pietismus-Empfindsamkeit*-inspired tone can be demonstrated, on two occasions, "Gott, wie ergriff das mein Herz und alle Sinne!"(IV,90;RA,85), for the mountaintop sunset, and, for the sea's display of power: "Wie lebt die Natur da in meinem Sinn und ergreift mit ihrer Musik mein Wesen!"(IV,106;RA,101). When viewing the altarpiece of the Fuligno Convent (IV,337;RA,320) *Ardinghello* masses nine "wie" constructions to describe the loveliness of the Madonna, perhaps to demonstrate his "Fühler"'s capacity for letting "Augensinn" become "Gefühlssinn". The exhilarating grandeur and purity of the sea and coastline are captured in their contrast to the town:

Hier ist ewige Klarheit und Reinheit; und alles Kleine, was sich in den Winkeln der Städte in uns nistet, wird hier von den großen Massen weggescheucht.

Wie die Seealpen aufsteigen! . . .; wie die zarte Linie am Horizont sich so weich herumründet! in den Ocean hinaus möcht ich; wie klopft mir das Herz! (IV,93;RA,88)

Four "wie" constructions (the first not exclamatory, but blending into the others) are used to describe the very special atmosphere of the Rotunda:

Wie breit und mächtig einen das Innre selbst umfaßt und bedeckt, ist lauter Majestät. . . . Was dieß für eine Ruh ist! wie einen so nichts stört! wie die Rundung mit Liebesarmen empfängt, wie ein leiser Schatten einen umgibt. (IV,268;RA,256)

That Heinse was very conscious of the rhetorical value of a "wie" construction may be deduced from the fact that he edited two notebook entries in this form for *Ardinghello*:

Notebook: Wer sie machte, hat . . . ihre verschiedenen Vollkommenheiten im Gefühl gehabt. (VII,206;RA,379)

becomes: [Those who genuinely knew], wie jeder von den vier jungen muthigen Hengsten seinen eigenen Charakter hat. (IV,9;RA,10, see also RA,455)

Notebook: Sie schnauben und sind ungeduldig, daß sie im Zügel gehalten werden. (Ibid.)

becomes: Die Vortrefflichkeit ihrer Köpfe, und wie sie schnauben und ungeduldig sind, daß . . . (Ibid.)

And lastly, the "wie" construction which has provided the epigraph for this chapter. Here Ardinghello concludes his panegyric on the Greeks, which began: " Die Griechen sind immer noch an Gehalt und Schönheit die ersten Menschen auf dem Erdboden", with the words which so epitomise the perhaps most essential strand in the figure of Ardinghello, as it also is in his creator:

Und der Hang zur Freude, zur Lust, zu Gesang und Tanz, wie klopft er . . . in ihren Adern! und wie mächtig das Gefühl für Schönheit. (IV,386;RA,365-366)

## 5. LANDSCAPE DESCRIPTIONS

Without losing sight of Heinse's fire imagery, Nature descriptions and observations involving Nature will be examined in the following, the reason being that, since they help in both *Ardinghello* and *Werther* to characterize the main figures (Baeumer, RA, 686) they are likely to be a rewarding area for an inquiry into the style and language of these works.

Werther's letter of 18 August 1771 (91-95) is a case in point. It is one retrospective lament ("Ach damals", "sonst"), because his former harmonious view of the world (expressed in such life-orientated terms as "fruchtbar, keimen, quellen, beleben, unendliche Fülle", including even a fire image, "das glühende heilige Leben der Natur" (92)) has gradually been replaced by a frightening vision of Nature as an eternally devouring and regurgitating monster (marked by many verbs ominously weighted by prefixes of disintegration and dislocation: "verschlingen, zerstören, zerrütten, zerschmettern, wegspülen, fortreißen, untertauchen, untergraben, verzehren") and ending in the despairing "nichts, als ein ewig verschlingendes, ewig wiederkäuendes Ungeheuer" (95). Werther "taumelt beängstigt" in a state not infrequently connected with *Empfindsamkeit*: the inability to cope.<sup>43</sup> This is pitiously so in his case, in the microscopic intensity with which

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43. Justus Möser (Sauder, op.cit., III, p.49) gives examples of the "Empfindsamen" standing powerlessly and uselessly by when resolute action is imperative.

he concentrates on the helpless, doomed world at his feet, his gaze directed downwards like the curve of his life. Werther has "Naturverbundenheit", but only in the sense of Nature serving him as a hand-maiden, a device, which like a mirror reflects what is really only an unhealthy concentration on *himself*, (even in the first letter: "in dieser Gegend die für Seelen geschaffen, wie die meine"(8)). The letter of 18 August contains thirty-six references to himself in the possessive or personal pronoun form. The paradox of the seemingly outward-directed, gently compassionate gaze which nevertheless never loses sight of the state of the inner self as the point of real interest lies at the heart of *Empfindsamkeit*; and it is reflected in Werther's style. One of the striking features of Heinse's style is the *absence* of this stance. Ardinghello does not mass self-references around himself. In the following passage for instance "wir" and "uns" occur only twice; the day, the burning sun, the celebrating insect world, the deafening din of the crickets (Heinse is such an "Ohrenmensch" as well as an "Augenmensch!"), *they* are what matters, and characteristically, exactly halfway through the passage comes the balancing change to cool shade and refreshing grapes; and joy is the conqueror again:

Es war schon gegen Mittag, und der Dunst vom Sonnenbrand...  
benahm alle Aussicht; unten schien der See zu kochen,  
und eine ungeheure Feuerpfanne von geschmolzenem  
Silber; Eidexen, Käfer, Mücken und unzählbare Insekten  
hielten in der Gluth ein allgemeines Fest, und die  
Grillen betäubten mit ihrem Gezirp wie ein Meerbrausen  
die Ohren: wir machten uns also an unsere Quelle  
in die grüne kühle Nacht, wo die undurchdringlichen  
Eichen- und Buchengewölbe und Felsen mächtiglich vor  
der Hitze Dampf beschirmten. Wir stärkten uns mit Spei-

se; und der frische Purpursaft der Traube weckte  
unbezwunglich die Freude wieder in jeder Nerve.  
(IV,62;RA,59)

The sea as a "schäumender Becher" is a metaphor shared by both Werther and Ardinghello. Werther (94) laments no longer being able to long for (as in the past, but even then not actually to make for!) the sea as a "schäumender Becher des Unendlichen", which might have given him in his "Eingeschränktheit" at least the sensation of partaking of "schwellende Lebenswonne". Ardinghello, the "Tatmensch", goes and sees for himself the bay of Naples, and the genuineness of his experience is reflected by his addition of the word "ächt" to the phrase: "Ein ächter Woneschäumender Becher rundum dieser große Meerbusen!"(IV,370;RA,350)

It is not surprising that Heinse on his visit in July and August 1782 found the Naples area and Vesuvius fascinating, and that he transfers<sup>44</sup> this fascination to Ardinghello, in view of the obvious opportunity for fire imagery, and because of the amazing, almost tangible sensuality in the atmosphere. "Es ist, als ob man immer einen Venusleib nackend vor sich hätte"(VII,56) Heinse sums up this impression in his notebook only. "Hier schwimmt alles und schwebt in Lust" is almost literally transferred to Ardinghello, perfectly suited to embody the feeling he and Fiordimona share, suspended in rapture, assonance aiding the sense of floating.(IIV,65;IV,370;RA,350)

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44. One of the merits of M.L.Baeumer's Reclam critical edition of *Ardinghello* is the meticulous survey of the notebook extracts incorporated into the work (see "Variantenverzeichnis") which together with the extensive appendix of notes gives a clear idea for the first time of Heinse's working methods in this respect.



Shortly before, (IV,363;RA,344), Ardinghello had recalled another rapturous "Bild der Lust", when he and Fiordimona, bathing in the nocturnal lake to cool their burning reciprocated passion<sup>45</sup> had woken the slumbering swans.

Wo gibt es . . . ein lockender lebendiger Bild der Lust, wenn sie ihre Hälse umflechten, und vor Entzücken leis kreischen und zusammengirren, und mit ihren Flügeln schlagen, daß der Gesang der Nachtigall davor verschwindet, und zu geschwätzigem und unaufhörlichem Getön wird.

Here the cameo description of the regal birds in their ecstasy forms a mirror to that of the two exceptional lovers. Ardinghello notes the most delicate visual and aural nuances of the birds' display, but also the obliterating power of their beating wings which - like the lovers - belongs to a larger-scale, one might say more Wagnerian,<sup>46</sup> more intense and fiery passionate dimension than that of ordinary mortals, and banishes the dainty *Rokoko*-reminiscent prattle and monotony of the nightingale. Even the whole setting of Vesuvius with its elevating fiery presence which sets it apart from all around subtly implies the similar extra-ordinariness of the lovers:

Die Feuermassen scheinen dieß Land der Sonne näher zu rücken; es sieht ganz anders, als die übrige Welt aus.  
(IV,370;RA,350)

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45. "Unsern Brand", the fire image here, is given extra interest by its colloquial metaphorical extension, meaning "thirst".

46. See RA,583 for Wagner's linking of *Ardinghello* with his own awakening stance against "puritanische Heuchelei" and for the "kühne Verherrlichung der 'freien Sinnlichkeit'".

Features of landscapes or episodes from outdoor life then are woven into both *Ardinghello* and *Werther* to enhance the reader's understanding of the main characters. Both Heinse and Goethe also employ *prosopopoeia* (lat. *personificatio*) extensively to aid the vividness of their style. This in itself is by no means remarkable, in fact, as Adelung (*Styl*, 1. Theil, p. 452) points out, so universal is this rhetorical device (as for instance in: "der Frühling kommt") that no language can function without it. It is therefore not the presence, but the *empathy* and *inventiveness* with which they suit the device to the characterisation they are pursuing which is worthy of note. Thus Werther remembers the cradling gentleness of the evening scene:

Wenn . . . der sanfte Fluß zwischen den lispelnden  
Rohren dahin gleitete, und die lieben Wolken abspie-  
gelte. die der sanfte Abendwind am Himmel herüber  
wiegte, . . . ((92), 18. Aug.)

For Heinse's task of depicting the "Kernmensch", the "großer Mensch" Ardinghello whose element is fire, Vesuvius offers a unique opportunity to present his hero through this natural phenomenon (from his notebook, though not without some very precise pruning). If this is what Heinse intended, it would explain why he removed the paternal typification "Vater Vesuv", since the *youthfulness* of an Alexander is the desired attribute, thus leaving only "in schrecklicher Majestät Vesuv". (VII, 56; IV, 369f.; RA, 350) Also omitted in the transfer is the personification of Vesuvius as "schrecklicher Sultan, von einem demüthigen Hof von Bergen umrungen" (VII, 60), perhaps for hitting too tyrannic a note (*Ardinghello*

is portrayed as decidedly benevolent (IV,41;RA,39,34)).  
Gone too is the *animal* allusion with its oxymoron:

Wie ein Tyger oder eine fürstliche Chimäre liegt  
er da, und der Dampf aus seinem offnen Rachen ist  
schön gräßlich. (VII,61)

Nor is the personification of Vesuvius as the immature son in the lap of his father (Monte Somma, VII,62) helpful, if Heinse indeed wanted to bring out indirectly the qualities of his Ardinghello who is completely self-reliant. That notebook entry too is left out of the novel. Significantly, Heinse seems to have felt the predatory element not to be detrimental in this context, and the oxymoron is recreated as "entsetzlich schön", for now the emphasis is on the awesome sublimity of a being which has created itself. The *prosopopoeia*<sup>47</sup> "die alte Mutter die See"<sup>48</sup> in her futile efforts makes the overwhelming presence of the volcano even more realistic:

Der Vesuv ist davon [von Sorrent] in seiner einfachsten, allergrößten, und furchtbarsten Gestalt zu sehen, so stolz und erhaben, daß die höchsten Alpen davor verschwinden. Er sieht aus wie ein Wesen, das sich selbst gemacht hat, alles andre ist wie Koth dagegen; und der Dampf aus seinem ofnen Rachen ist im eigentlichsten Verstand entsetzlich schön. An keinem andern Orte möcht ich seine Feuerauswürfe betrachten; es muß ein wahres Bild rasender Hölle seyn. Unten am Fuß sind die Menschen in ihren Wohnungen wie unschuldige Lämmer, die er sich zur Beute heranschleppte; und die alte Mutter die See zieht vergebens zärtlich rauschend heran, sie zu retten.(IV,375;RA,355)

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47. H.R.Sprengel (op.cit.,p.16) sees Heinse's personifications as a "bewußte Steigerung der empirischen Tatsache" assaulting the reader "so angenehm und so zwingend".

48. In the notebook: "die alte Mutter das Meer"(IIV,62). The replacement by a second feminine noun emphasises the contrast to the masculinity of the volcano, an example of the care Heinse bestowed on even such fine nuances of his language.

It must be noted in discussing personification that Heinse carefully avoids a "Vermenschlichung" of God. This is so in spite of the Aristophanean address (RA,529) to the element of air "Vater Aether, aller Lebengeber!" (IV,320;RA,304). "Das Wesen"<sup>49</sup> or even "das Universalwesen" (309;325) or "Gott, oder das mächtigste Wesen in der Natur" (VIII,3,263; 14 Dec 1800), in the sense of an ecstatic life force which "durch immerwährende Erneuerung" takes on "mannigfaltige, für uns unendliche Formen", having created the world "nach seiner Lust aus sich selbst"(IV,323; RA,307), defines God in Heinse's thought. It is necessary, Demetri tells Ardinghello, to discard ("ablegen", in the sense of "to transcend") one's human-ness if one wants to be able to visualise this "Eins, das sich in verschiedene Formen verwandelt"(333;317) because "Gott ist nicht Mensch, Anthropomorphit!"(333;317)<sup>50</sup> The culmination of Heinse's vision of ecstatic participation in this life force is his vitalistic extension of the pre-socratic *Hen kai pan* formula "Eins Alles und Alles Eins"(318;303) to his own formulation: "Eins zu seyn, und Alles zu werden"(325;309)<sup>51</sup> Heinse borrows Klopstock's

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49. Demetri brings Fire into his discourse by noting the ancient belief of it being "das Heilige", "Ursprung der Lebenswärme", "reines Wesen ohne Form"(322;307).

See also Chapter II, fn.12 above.

50. *Werther* has anthropomorphic references: "die Gegenwart des Allmächtigen, der uns all nach seinem Bilde schuf"((9), 10.May); "Gottes Angesicht", "die Wonne, die er über mich ausgoß"((158), 3.Nov.)

51. M.L.Baeumer, *Heinse-Studien*, pp.44-91, discusses this topic and its influence on Hölderlin's *Hyperion*.

polyptoton "Wesen der Wesen" (from the ode 'Die Glückseligkeit Aller') to intensify the concept:

Das ist eine ganz andre Hofnung, Sicherheit von Unsterblichkeit, wenn ich Stürme durch die Atmosphäre brausen höre, und in mir fühle: bald wirst auch Du die Wogen wälzen, und mit dem Meer im Kampf seyn! Wenn ich den Adler in den Lüften schweben sehe, und denke: bald wirst auch Du in mächtigem Fluge so über dem Rund der Erde hangen, als Komet durch die Himmel schweifen, Sonne Welten beglücken! und, stolzer Gedanke! wieder in das Meer des Wesens der Wesen einströmen! (IV, 324; RA, 308)

Although Aristotle's "Gott" seems to fit this concept in some respects ("scheint hierauf zu passen" (323; 307)), the term "Wesen" transcends any traditional "God" image for Heinse. We as individuals, "unser kleines Ganzes", soon blend into the eternal, but "Wesen" remains indestructibly beyond the power of any "God":

Unser kleines Ganzes verliert sich bald mit allen seinen Folgen im Unendlichen; aber Wesen kann von keinem Gott vernichtet werden. (IV, 328; RA, 311)

In connection with Heinse's Vesuvius description the young Heinse fleetingly comes to mind, with his "Vergnügen" at two "fürchterliche Gewitter" (IX, 87), demonstrating his "Genie" affinity with lightning, when Ardinghello "oben auf dem Vulkan", relates his and Fiordimona's enjoyment of the "Anblicke der höchsten Gewalt . . . , die man auf Erden schauen kann" (IV, 370; RA, 350). Now the inherent extra-ordinary concentrated strength making up the capacity of a "großer Mensch", it seems, is mirrored by the inner fissures of the volcano:

Die Risse von unten heraus, trichterförmig, gehen über alle Macht von Wetterschlägen, auffliegenden Pulvertürmen und Einbrüchen stürmenden Meeres. Erdbeben, die Länder bewegen, sind dagegen nur schwache Vorboten. Man glaubt in die Wohnung der Donnerkeile wie ein

Schlängennest hineinzusehen, so blitzschnell ist alles aus unergründlicher Tiefe gerissen, von Metall bespritzt und Schwefel beleckt: ein entzückend schaurig Bild allerhöchster Wuth. (IV, 370; RA, 350)

This time it is the language of the *Flucht der Amazonen* painting description which comes to mind. There too Heinse stood before a scene of uproar, to react with "Durchbruch des eigensten Sagenkönnens", as R. Benz (op.cit. p.12) so well put it. It is as if such scenes of "höchstes Leben" or "allerhöchste Wuth" bring forth from Heinse by way of response a tremendous linguistic upsurge. It is not an overheated imagination (which Adelung warns against in his chapter on hyperbole and exaggeration (*Styl*, p.460)). This is not language of exaggeration, though Heinse compares what he sees to catastrophic events and uses metaphors like "Donnerkeile" and "Schlängennest" and the oxymoron "entzückend/schaurig". Perhaps because the speaker keeps his "ich" in the characteristic Heinsean fashion out of the description and draws in the reader by "man", the honest conveying of a tremendously impressive sight is achieved. The style by which this is achieved is unique to Heinse. As Walther Brecht put it in four words: "Niemand schildert wie er". (Appendix I, 27)) It is evidence of the presence of one of those original minds as described by the highly influential Edward Young:<sup>52</sup>

For when they enter on subjects which have been in former hands, such is their Superiority, that, like a tenth Wave, they overwhelm and bury in oblivion all that went before. And thus not only enrich and adorn, but remove a load, and lessen the labour, of the letter'd world.

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52. *Conjectures on Original Composition*, p.33

In the essay "On the Sublime"<sup>53</sup> attributed to Longinus which has played a large role in educated persons' ideas on rhetoric, an uneven texture in the style, with "a good touch here and there", is held to be inferior to a steadily pursued line. Then, however, that overwhelming quality is lauded which, as also from the pen of Edward Young, describes Heinse's style so well:

A well-timed stroke of sublimity scatters everything before it like a thunderbolt, and in a flash reveals the full power of the speaker.

Such "sublime flashes" are a feature of Heinse's style; his language has just this quality of an overwhelming breakthrough of expressiveness. It bursts the boundaries of what had hitherto been designated as "Wohlredenheit" in Adelung's sense. Goethe described the *Sturm-und-Drang* spirit as "ein unbedingtes Streben, alle Begrenzungen zu durchbrechen".<sup>54</sup> This is more: Heinse does not seem to be conscious of any limitations in linguistic possibilities, and through him the *Sturm-und-Drang* spirit achieves a projection in the sheer, exuberant liberation of the word that makes it utterly his own. Like the "tenth wave" this feature is not present all the time, indeed, it is not really as predictable as the "ebb and flow" metaphor suggests.<sup>55</sup> But certainly few would dispute E.Hock's assertion that the thrilling linguistic transmissions by Heinse of single experiences concerning art or nature are unsurpassed. (Appendix I, 36))

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53. In Aristotle, Horace, Longinus. *Classical Literary Criticism*, p.100

54. *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, (HA, X, p.430)

The most monumental and astounding exhibition of what amounts to a new dimension in Heinse's exploitation of the expressive extent of language comes in his three descriptions (particularly the third) of the waterfall of the Rhine at Schaffhausen. Since these descriptions provide important evidence for the evaluation of Heinse's style and language they are given in full in Appendix 3. The first point to make about them is their number: why three attempts when one sufficed at all other times? There are (at least) two possible answers to this question. The first concerns the concept of the exceptional being, and is thus indirectly linked with Ardinghello; the second concerns Heinse's mastery of verbal representation.

Heinse's ever present fascination - born from the *Sturm-und-Drang* spirit - with the individual emerges in these descriptions (as well as his genuine admiration for the grandeur of the natural spectacle of course). Not any *individual*, not "Man" in general, but the outstanding individual, a concept which runs through Heinse's work from the early "Genie" to the "großes Genie" to the "großer Mensch" Rubens to the "großer Mensch" and "Kernmensch" Ardinghello. The indication is there already

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55. The subsequent subsidence into forthright description, enlivened by only one personification indicating a shaggy giant is almost comically deflating: "Sein Gipfel besteht aus lauter Schlacken; dieß gibt ihm von fern eine haarichte Riesengestalt. Dann wächst lauter Heyde; und dann in der Mitte fangen Gärten und Bäume an". (IV, 370; RA, 351)

It is regrettable that a meaningful comparison between Heinse's and Goethe's separate accounts of Vesuvius and the Naples area could not really be undertaken, since Goethe in his old age revised his original spontaneous accounts of his Italian journey and destroyed the original diaries and letters relating to this time.



in the first description that here, in the altogether exceptional natural phenomenon, he saw a manifestation of the *Sturm-und-Drang* individual, titanic here like Prometheus: "wild und ernst", "stürmt trotzig", "kühn und sicher, nicht zu vergehen".(VII,22) This defiant self-assertion becomes a gigantic battle of natural forces in the second description, with the Rhine angrily ("im Grimm", "jähzornig") pitching his strength against the stone masses - shaking and breathtaking for the observer. The onslaught of water against stone becomes erotically tinged towards the end of the description, and is now the urge for union with Mother Earth, the water vapour hanging over the scene evidence of the "Feuer der Liebe" into which the Rhine dissolves. All three descriptions liken the vapour to silvery smoke, as from a raging fire. The second description brings in a particularly unusual fire image, when Heinse discerns in the water nuances of turbulence of multi-faceted, almost surreal complexity:

Grün wie Feueraugen, und weich von Schaum  
wie Sammt und Seide in brennender Zartheit.(VII,23)

In the third description the focus on the *Sturm-und-Drang* individual is transferred to the spectator, who feels himself drawn to the waterfall by the "ungeheuersten Wirkungen der anziehendsten Kraft" in a Faustian yearning, as if in its depth he senses the key to "was die Welt im Innersten zusammenhält":

. . . als ob ich in der geheimsten Werkstatt der Natur mich befände, wo das Element von fürchterlicher Allgewalt gezwungen sich zeigen muß, wie es ist, in zerstürmten ungeheuern großen Massen.(VII,25;X.34)

The terrifying elemental force in "fürchterlicher Allgewalt" which Heinse is aware of in the waterfall bears close resemblance to the awesome "Erdgeist" Faust summons up. Faust's frustration, the realisation of a finite being of the impossibility of grasping the infinite - "Wo faß ich dich, unendliche Natur?" - is shared by Heinse, feeling "klein wie ein Nichts", acknowledging human limitation which bars final insight. Faust laments, "Weh! ich ertrag dich nicht", when he sees the "Erdgeist". Heinse, face-to-face out-of-doors with the phenomenon and not, like Faust, in the confines of a "hochgewölbtes, enges, gotisches Zimmer",<sup>56</sup> puts the dilemma in concrete terms:

Es ist ein Riesensturm, und man wird endlich ungeduldig, daß man so ein kleines festes zerbrechliches Ding ist und nicht mit hinein kann. (VII, 24; X, 33)

By the comma-less three-part asyndeton the "Ding"'s stature is contracted to a minimum without loss of descriptive power. The "Nichtmithineinkönnen" to which all human beings must admit, and which the *Sturm und Drang* found particularly irksome, is another instance of profundity formulated with simplicity by Heinse.

As a second reason for Heinse's three attempts at describing the Rhine fall his aim of mastery of verbal representation has been suggested above. As the increasing linguistic virtuosity of the descriptions from one to the next demonstrates, Heinse felt presented with the ultimate challenge for a word-craftsman like himself: after depicting "höchstes Leben" (in his own estimation "das schwerste in allen Künsten" (VIII, 2, 506)) in the description of the *Battle of the*

Amazons, here is the culmination: "die allerhöchste Stärke . . . des größten Lebens"(VII,23;X,33)<sup>57</sup> The kind of language Heinse resorts to is extraordinary; M.L.Baeumer for instance finds it "hymnisch-rauschhaft" with a "sich bis zur Entgrenzung steigernden dionysischen Charakter".<sup>58</sup> H.Mohr similarly detects a tendency in the language "sich zu übersteigern, um den dionysisch-ekstatischen Grundzug des Geschehens abzuspiegeln".<sup>59</sup>

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56. *Urfaust*, in: *Goethe.Faust*, ed.E.Trunz, pp.367-370

57. Heinse, of course, was not the only one to try and capture the famous Rhine fall in words. Lavater brings out the supreme spectacle by proclaiming himself impotent to match it in song:

Wer, wer gibt mir den Pinsel,/ Wer Farben dich zu entwerfen,/ Großer Gedanke der Schöpfung!/ Dich majestätischer Rheinfall!/ Nein! du Schwung des Gesangs,/ Der Harfe rauschender Vollklang,/ Nein! du erfliegst sie nicht,/ Die Wut des stürmenden Sturzes/ Seiner Flutengebirge!

Quoted from A.Müller, *Landschaftserlebnis und Landschaftsbild*, p.66

It is worth noting that Heinse, who does make use of the rhetorical formula of indescribability in the second description never even hints at it in the third. But then, he is describing the Rhine fall.

58. *Das Dionysische* . . . , p.113. Baeumer also (p.105) outlines the difficulties involved in defining the Dionysian phenomenon in language.

59. *Wilhelm Heinse. Das erotisch-religiöse Weltbild und seine naturphilosophischen Grundlagen*, p.87

A.Müller (op.cit.,p.95,p.97) certainly distorts the facts when he claims as a characteristic of Heinse: "eine offenbare Verherrlichung alles Naturlebens als eines orgiastischen Sexualrausches". The third Rhine fall description has no erotic references: in fact, only six lines are devoted to this subject in the four full printed pages the three descriptions take up, so it is highly excessive to claim for Heinse a feverish obsession with sex, "orgiastische Selbstverschwendung", "sexuelles Rasen", and more, a view which is echoed almost verbatim by H.Mohr (op.cit.,p.87). Müller's verb "durchfiebern" for Heinse's relation to Nature is particularly unfortunate. Healthily excited, exhilarated, yes; feverish, no!

There may be Dionysian elements in the language of the third description, such as the combination of "entzückend" and "schauervoll" which Mohr (op.cit.,p.88) mentions, but "Entzücken" and "Schauder" are associated by Heinse (through Ardinghello) with "Erhabenheit", and the connection with a Dionysian "Rausch" in Nietzsche's sense of the term which Baeumer (*Heinse-Studien*,p.97) makes is an oblique one. It is possible to interpret "Erhabenheit" as the element of grandeur which produces an aesthetic experience by the work of a great artist - Nature being the greatest artist of all - possessing, "was die Kräfte des Menschen unendlich übersteigt", as Ardinghello puts it.(IV,177;RA,169) "Unendlich übersteigen" is certainly "Entgrenzung", but is it also "rauschhaft" and therefore Dionysian, or is it an aesthetic dimension?<sup>60</sup> On the next page Demetri rejects the idea of "Poesie" (for which one may read "language"<sup>61</sup>) as "Rausch" or "Raserey", which he sees as a misconception ("Wahn");

Die meisten haben wunderliche Begriffe von Poesie, und meinen, sie könne ohne Nebel und Wolken nicht bestehen, und müsse platterdings ein Rausch, eine Raserey seyn, und scheue das Licht der Vernunft; . . . . Wenn sie nur den Sophokles oder Euripides wollten sprechen lassen, die diese Kunst zur Vollkommenheit gebracht, so könnten sie sich leicht von ihrem Wahn befreien.(IV,179;RA,170)

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60. Anne Sheppard, (*Aesthetics*,p.64), draws attention to the often-noted fact that "aesthetic appreciation is a complex matter, involving both emotional and intellectual factors" and that it can vary "from pleasure in its mildest form to rapturous enthusiasm" in "our response to works of art and natural beauty". The line between an aesthetic or a Dionysian response may therefore not be easy to detect at times.

61. Demetri: "Aristoteles, und wer ihm folgt, schränkt die Poesie auf Handlungen ein, als ob die Sprache nichts anders sinnlich vorstellen könnte."(IV,179;RA,170)

Is there really evidence here of ecstatic "Entgrenzung", of, as H.Mohr has it, the urge "sich selbst in den heiligen Taumel hineinzugeben?"(Mohr,88) The "Selbst", the "ich", is by no means as prominent in the Rhine fall descriptions as that suggests, occurring not at all in the first description, only once ("in mir") in the second where, significantly, it merely serves to pronounce the traditional and platitudinous formula of indescribability; and once, apart from "durch mein Wesen", in the third, where it is set in the sober locale of a "Werkstatt", to which Man, the "mechanisches Ding" (more soberness), had earlier despaired of entry. Is this really "Offenbarung des Göttlichen", and is Heinse "vom Numinosen getroffen"?(Mohr,88) Or is he not rather thrilled to be, quite scientifically in the sense of the eighteenth century's fascination with the origin of life, nearer to finding it, and telling, "wie es ist", like a first-rate reporter in fact?

Es ist mir, als ob ich in der geheimsten Werkstatt . . . mich befände, wo das Element . . . sich zeigen muß, wie es ist. (VII,25;X,34)

"Es ist", surely a phrase which locks on to real life existence, appears six times in the third description. That the words "es ist" can carry much weight, and that one therefore ought not to read over them too lightly in the Rhine fall descriptions is demonstrated by Demetri in his propounding of a cosmogeny, where the profound recognition of the life force (symbolised by Fire) is finally reduced to the two words: "es ist":

Und dieß ist das Heilige, (welches einige Alten für Feuer, Ursprung der Lebenswärme hielten, weil Feuer wäre, Wesen in seine größte Freiheit verbreitet) wovon

alles in jedem lebendigen Eins ausgeht, sinnlich wird und erscheint, und in dessen Liebesschooß sich alles wieder einsenkt; vor dessen Seyn und wunderbarer Allmacht . . . jede Philosophie verstummt, nur erkennt: es ist; und ihm seine Art zu handeln ablauert. (IV, 323; RA, 307)

In the third Rhine fall description the speaker, Heinse, like a good reporter, concentrates on his subject and keeps himself in the background by the generalising impersonal "man" which is used throughout, even in a phrase such as "man hört und fühlt sich selbst nicht mehr". This, I suggest, is not the utterance of someone in the grips of "heiliger Taumel", but simply states a fact anyone can vouch for who has stood next to roaring water. There is not even the beginning of a loss of control of form as the entering of a Dionysian dimension would suggest, although the eye is so assaulted by the impressions that no effort of its own is required to let them register. Control is never lost, utterance upon utterance records and transmits the never-before-experienced proximity to Nature at her most tumultuous in all its excitement and exhilaration. Being, as Heinse is, such a very finely tuned and highly sensitive "instrument" for recording sight, sound, and effect on the spectator accounts for the large volume of the description.

The first half of the centrally-placed sentence beginning "O Gott welche Musik" is often included in quoted excerpts from the third description:

O Gott welche Musik, welches Donnerbrausen, welch ein Sturm durch all mein Wesen! Heilig, heilig, heilig!

It lends itself at first sight to claims such as Mohr's that Heinse's attitude is one of a "begeisterter Frommer"

(Mohr,88). The opening of the sentence brings to mind Klopstock's ode 'Das Anschauen Gottes' which includes the lines "Heiliger!// Heiliger!// Heiliger!"<sup>62</sup> Without wishing to claim in any way that Heinse was not genuinely moved, the tone of the sentence, ardent *Pietismus* in its passive submission to the divine all-penetrating influence, is, with all due respect to the view that this is Heinse at the height of ecstasy, simply not genuinely "Heinsean". The "real" Heinse takes over again in full descriptive flow with "brüllt es in Mark und Bein". The *Pietismus* exclamation is inserted between references to painters, opera, architecture, and a jeering comment on the mutilation of Nature often performed by products of the arts. The rapturous *Pietismus* tone suits Heinse's purpose here of breaking into the small-minded welter of the arts; and he makes his point of "Nature over Art" in a way his reader can immediately relate to, by the evocation of Klopstock. Klopstock was adored by many, and the connection would certainly be made as readily as if, like Werther's Lotte, he had uttered: "- Klopstock!". And, the addressee of the letter-version being the "empfindsame" Fritz Jacobi makes this choice of tone ideal, even though Jacobi knew that Heinse's heart was not really in it.(ZZ,p.11) There is here in fact no drawing of attention to the state of the heart, as Werther so often does (a tendency considered to be central to the new stance

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62. Klopstock, *Oden*, p.28

of the *Sturm und Drang*)<sup>63</sup> The word occurs only once at the end, linked with "Pulse"; and the grammatical construction is ambivalent as to whose heart is meant, the watergod's or the speaker's, - as if it really does not matter too much. The sound, the beat matters here, not the emotional symbolism. One might have expected fragmented speech, incomplete periods, dashes, exclamations, as in Werther's letters. Apart from the one "O Gott" there is none of this; Heinse, "der Mensch" stands there ("der Mensch ... steht davor") and fully articulates it all inimitably, "enriching and adorning" in Edward Young's sense. "Davorstehen" (twice) describes the keen observer and recorder rather than the overwhelmed beholder or the worshipper. Fr.L.von Stolberg for instance reports: "Als der Dichter Lenz hier stand, fiel er auf die Knie und rief aus: 'Hier ist eine Wasserhöhle!'" (Müller, op.cit., p.67) Von Stolberg's own laborious rendering<sup>64</sup> of the moment of coming face to face with the fall (as also Lavater's poem above) lends weight to the impression that some rapturous response at this point was the expected thing, for which Heinse obligingly hauls out something from the box marked "Klopstock/*Pietismus*/*Empfindsamkeit*", into which he had also dipped for the *Johannes* description in the *Gemähldebriefe*.

63. Flaschka, op.cit., p.144

64. "Es war mir, als fühlte ich unmittelbar das praesens numen. Mit dem Gedanken an die geoffenbarte Herrlichkeit Gottes wandelte mich die Empfindung seiner Allbarmherzigkeit und Liebe an. Es war mir, als ginge die Herrlichkeit des Herrn vor mir vorüber, als müßte ich hinsinken aufs Angesicht, und ausrufen: Herr, Herr Gott, barmherzig und gnädig!" (Müller, *ibid.*; underlining of both quotations mine)



The Rhine fall represents for Heinse not only an opportunity of displaying himself as a master of language, but also the closest visual symbol of the "Genie" concept he ever encountered. The "Rheinstrom" enacts for him here in real life that "Strom des Genies" which Werther had described as being so often hemmed in by the dull and cautious who fend off any portent of danger inherent in its vitality:

O meine Freunde! warum der Strom des Genies so selten ausbricht, so selten in hohen Fluthen hereinbraust, und eure staunende Seele erschüttert. Lieben Freunde, da wohnen die gelaßnen Kerls auf beyden Seiten des Ufers, denen ihre Gartenhäuschen, Tulpenbeete, und Krautfelder zu Grunde gehen würden, und die daher in Zeiten mit dämmen und ableiten der künftig drohenden Gefahr abzuwehren wissen. (26.May; (23))

In his highly enthusiastic review of *Werther* Heinse cites "der mächtige Vater Rhein" as an example of such treatment as the "Genieen" receive, and states:

Die Genieen müssen sich's zuweilen gefallen lassen, daß ihnen diese Herrn hier und da einen Wasserbau anlegen. (III, 390)<sup>65</sup>

In this way the Rhine symbolises the "Genie" for Heinse. No wonder, then, that Heinse at the sight of the Rhine fall responds with such tremendous enthusiasm, breaking new ground for the possibilities of language, for there in the turbulent roaring "höchstes Leben" of the great river he recognises the new spirit of his age. Like a *Sturm-und-Drang* manifesto the dynamic and atmospheric keywords jump out at the reader:

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65. Heinse, like Goethe in his revised edition, turns the "Kerls" into "Herren", no doubt so as not to offend the lady readers, but perhaps also because he himself is not a "Kraftkerl".

herabflammen	Aufruhr	wüthend
herabziehen	Abgrund	glühend
herumdampfen	Riesensturm	gegenwärtig
herumjagen	Wirbelwind	donnernd
ergreifen	Flug, Schuß, Drang	kochend
sich nicht	An-und Abprallen	ungeheuer
bändig lassen	Wirbeln, Sieden, Schäumen	gewitterwolkeicht
schäumen	Brausen, majestätisches	fürchterlich
wüthen	Erdbebenartiges Krachen	zerstürmt
brüllen	ungeheuerste Wirkungen	flammend
wälzen	großes wüthendes Feuer	trümmernd heftig
stürzen	heftige Feuersbrunst	
sich auflösen	Toben und Wüthen	
wirbeln	die allerhöchste Stärke	
kräuseln	der wüthendste Sturm des	
fliegen	größten Lebens	
Stöße geben		
schlagen		

For evaluating Heinse's style and language the description of the Rhine fall confirms what has already been noted in the discussion of the *Stanzen*, namely the presence of a striking reporting talent.<sup>66</sup> This may be a suitable place to point out that Heinse's own first choice of a career (Letter to Fritz Jacobi of 22 March 1783; X, 223-225) was that of a journalist, as chief editor, main compiler and contributor of a proposed journal, to be named *Italiänische Bibliothek nebst Nachrichten von Kunstsachen*. Heinse envisaged Goethe and Lavater as contributors and suggested January 1784 for the first issue in his detailed proposals which are presented not in the form of a pipe-dream, but are practicable

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66. Chapter I, p.37.

Uwe R.Klinger indirectly confirms this finding by discerning in Heinse's description of the Rhine fall the retention of critical distance, and that he has not "completely abandoned himself to an intoxicated state of mind". ('Wilhelm Heinse's Perception of Nature' in *Lessing Yearbook* X, p.134)

and business-like. The "Materialien, die ich schon bereit liegen habe"(X,225), all the many items of artistic and cultural interest he had compiled, would have found their suitable form of presentation here. He rightly foresaw, however, already then that his plan might meet with "keinen guten, oder nur mißlichen Erfolg in dem gegenwärtigen Deutschland"(Heinse's italics), and nothing came of it. Seen in this light, *Ardinghello* is something of a "Notbehelf", a making-the-best-of what the literary climate of the time demanded, namely a novel, which is not really Heinse's forte. However, as Baeumer shows (e.g. RA,647 and RA,710) Heinse skilfully integrated his material into the historical background.

#### 6. "DAS GEFÜHL FÜR SCHÖNHEIT" IN HEINSE'S NATURE DESCRIPTIONS

For a just appreciation of Heinse's style and language it is crucial to take into account that apart from such "sublime flashes" as the description of the tumultuous Rhine fall he also responds to the serene beauty of Nature in a way which made Walther Brecht describe him as the "Zauberer der Landschaftsschilderung"(Appendix 1,27)). Here is an example from *Ardinghello*, one of the nature descriptions from Heinse's notebook which must also be ranked among the "Materialien" he held in readiness at the end of his stay in Italy:

Ein entzückender Morgen, wie wir wieder Portici hinüberschifften! ein leichter Nebel deckte dasselbe wie eine zarte Bettdecke. Auf dem Gewässer waren tausend Nachen, die unbesorgten Fische zu fangen, welche aus ihren Tiefen sich dem neuen Lichte näherten. Leiswallend, wie ein unermeßlicher Lebensquell, verlor sich das Meer in ein Chaosdunkel, woraus Capri kaum sichtbar in grauem Duft noch hervortrat. In blassem Purpur röthete sich auf den Apenninen der Himmel, und der Vulkan athmete schrecklich der Sonn entgegen in majestätischer Ruhe seinen schweren Dampf aus, der sich an den Seiten herabwältzt. Und nun steigt sie empor in Strahlengluth vollkommen und unveränderlich, der Geist ihrer Welt, die alles mit Liebe faßt, und in ihrem Glanze spielen die Wellen. (IV, 376; RA, 356; also VII, 60; RA, 444)

The elevating juxtaposition of fire and sun in the second half of the passage rests on the lightest of dawn scenes, delicately sketched in in the first half. "Entzückend, leicht, zart, unbesorgt, leiswallend" interweave with terms indicating a lack of clarity of outline, "unermeßlich, kaum sichtbar, sich verlieren" and the synaesthetic "grauen Duft". The sun's pre-eminence is reinforced by Heinse's eliding of the final 'e' of the notebook version "Sonne". This is surely a case of Heinse achieving by means of the truncated one syllable word the more concentrated rounded kind of self-sufficiency that goes with "vollkommen und unveränderlich". Adelung (*Styl*, I, p. 237), who only sees "unausstehliche Härte" resulting from the dropped final 'e' which he thinks of as a retrograde measure, quite fails to appreciate the variation of expressiveness achievable by a Goethe and a Heinse. When Werther writes: "Ich hab sie gehabt, ich habe das Herz gefühlt" the more lingering memory of the heart being felt is thus accentuated; or when Benedikt says: "Ich faßte ihn [Ardinghello] bey der Hand, und redt ihm zu" an impression of a few fitting words without long-windedness is conveyed.

Here is clear evidence of a writer's craftsmanship, not mere pandering to a literary trend. In the sunrise description above, M.L.Baeumer, justifiably modernising interpunctuation in RA, places a comma after "Strahlengluth". This, however, robs the phrase "in Strahlengluth vollkommen und unveränderlich" of its characteristically Heinsean impressionistic massing effect. For greater impact of the last sentence Heinse puts it alone in the present tense (in which the whole notebook version appears), proof of the careful shaping undertaken in the revision process. The volcano sentence also exemplifies this tendency. Clearly Heinse wants the volcano to appear awesome, yet be subordinated to the sun. He therefore retains the notebook's "in majestätischer Ruhe", but takes out "stolz", and changes the possibly too mournful "schwarzen Dampf" to "schweren Dampf", which together with the insert "der sich an den Seiten herabwölzt" creates an impression of homage, or submission, because of the downward direction.

Prosopopoeia makes another sunrise description from *Ardinghello* memorable, with the sun striding in yellow fire across the mountain, and a Heinsean noun-extension of "to be" ("die Stirn ... war Majestät"):

Die Sonne kam herauf im herrlichen Lichtkreis . . .  
und schritt kühn übers Gebirg bey Verona im gelben  
Feuer, die Stirn, womit sie sich emporwarf, war  
Majestät. (IV, 54; RA, 51)

Here too, as with "grauer Duft" above, the aromatic freshness of the air is caught by Heinse as he continues: "Breit lag der See da im Morgenduft". The impression that the gentle breeze seems as if waking the beauty

of the lake (in itself a subtle restating of the leitmotif "Leben und Bewegung") is conveyed with utmost economy but little respect for rules of grammar by the insertion of "wie" between "weckte" and "auf":

Ein leises Wehen in der Mitte kräuselte die Wellen, und  
weckte seine Schönheit wie auf, und machte sie lebendig.

The serene beauty of the scene makes the day unforgettable; and Heinse's simple phrase makes the statement all the more convincing:

Es war ein heiter Wetter zu Anfang Oktobers, und einer  
meiner unvergeßlichen Tage.

His eye lifts again to the sky and responds to the soaring eagles suspended in rapture:

Süßer röthlicher Dunst bekleidete glänzend den östlichen Himmel, und die wollichten Wölkchen schwebten still um den lichten Raum des Aethers, worin entzückt in hohen Flügen die Alpenadler hingen. (IV, 55, RA, 52)

The inclusion of the near-nursery-rhyme "little lambs" allusion, endearingly small, and uniform in their 'wol' assonance, in the midst of the grandiose scene is like "eine kleine Welt" glimpsed from earth up in the heavens. It is again that Heinsean knack of not losing touch with "Mother Earth" even at such an elevated moment.<sup>67</sup>

The Beauty of the sunrise continued to fascinate Heinse, to the extent that for instance in 1790 he noted down his impressions on three out of eleven mornings,<sup>68</sup> with exact times ("19 Minuten auf 6 Uhr", or: "den Schlag vier

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67. Rita Terras, (op.cit.p.62) discusses the various sensuous elements in Heinse's landscape descriptions.

68. Because of the inaccessibility of the material these descriptions and a fourth of four years later are reproduced as Appendix 4 in this study. (With my underlinings of fire imagery)

Uhr". The descriptions bring evidence of Heinse's continuing fascination with this fire phenomenon. H.R.Sprengel expresses particular astonishment at the "Ausdrucksvermögen" of the fourth description with its "frühen Häuser" and "der fette Purpur des Gewölks" which could be (in 1930) a formulation of the present day. This modernity of Heinse's language is also noted with astonishment by H.Eulenberg and described as "ein höchst Modernes" by R.Benz(Appendix 1,44) and 46); Sprengel, op.cit.,p.20) Apart from the rise of the sun, the Beauty of the moon rising in its stillness and its contrast to Vesuvius and the festive atmosphere the moon's appearance brings, occupies Heinse over several pages off and on in his notebook (VII,65-68), and its final form in *Ardinghello* arises from six notebook entries, as Baeumer shows (RA,545 and "Varianten"):

Ach, es war in der That ein schöner Abend! kühlender Duft senkte sich nieder, und hüllte nach und nach das Gebirg ein, alles wurde verwischt und Form dämmerte nur unten, indeß oben die reinen vollkommenen Sterne blinkten. Wir meinten, wir müßten uns sogleich mit dem Liede der holden Spanierin empor heben, und unsre Stelle verlassen. Es ist unten doch alles so Nichts, wenn es nicht von dem klaren himmlischen Lichte seine Gestalt empfängt!

Dann ging der stille Mond am wilden dampfenden Vesuv auf; dunkel lag das Meer noch in Schatten, und erwartete mit unendlichen leisen plätschernden Schlägen seine Ankunft. Die Menschen kühlen sich ab in den Fluthen, machen Chorus, und scherzen und genießen weg ihr Daseyn.

Es ist entzückend, wie man die Erde mit sich gen Osten unaufhaltsam fortrollen sieht, und die ganze Harmonie des Weltalls fühlt! (IV,372;RA,353)

One may speculate that Heinse perhaps did not wish the moon to take away too much from the fire associations connected with the sun or Vesuvius. That would explain why the following sentence was not transferred from the notebook:

Ein großer Feuerhof hebt sich vor ihm auf, und dann tritt er selbst hervor wie ein himmlisch Wesen im reinen Lichte. (VII,65)

But Vesuvius seen as Vulcan and the moon as Venus are also left behind:

Es ist eine wahre Vermählung Vulkans mit der Venus, des Feuergottes mit der süßesten Tochter des Meeres. (VII,65)

Heinse may have felt that inclusion of such a not particularly original mythological reference would have diminished the magically simple spell of the beautiful evening which his language is weaving. This falls deliciously on the senses of the reader: on his tactile awareness and sense of smell by "kühlender Duft"; on his ear, which is delighted by the rhythmical (four times repeated) lapping "en" sound of the gentle waves; all this apart from the visual artistry of the description, and all contributing to that refreshing quality in Heinse's language (Laube, Appendix 1,35)) which the reader is particularly aware of at moments like this one. Heinse himself provides the clue to another vitally important aspect of his language, when he jots down immediately after the Vesuvius description:

Es ist mir, als ob ich immer mehr stärker und reifer wäre, und ich gewinne mehr Klang in der Welt. (VII,69)

Heinse has Klang, perhaps nowhere as much as in the nature descriptions which "ring" with an underlying musicality which, with Heinse ever "stärker und reifer" makes them truly unforgettable for the reader. Heinse's



writing deserves, it needs really to be read aloud<sup>69</sup> for a complete appreciation of the many nuances of sound and rhythm, and the satisfying balance between the various syntactical elements. As has already been noted early in this investigation (Chapter I, p.26), it is a prose style which in Heinse's case surpasses the traditionally higher-rated rhyme form of poetry by dint of its particular Heinsean poetic quality. It is not likely to be coincidence that Heinse, immediately after his notebook entry on the moon rising next to Vesuvius (VII,68) and just before feeling himself gaining in "Klang", rejects rhyme as "Albernheit" and "affectiertes Wesen", and states: "Ein geschriebenes Werk [prose] macht mehr Wirkung"(VII,69). In one way he seems to be privately adding the "Naturkind" Heinse's voice to the debate concerning the rating of prose and poetry, which found Herder on one side of the fence and Bodmer and Breitinger on the other, with Adelung, not surprisingly, remaining firmly for rhyme (*Styl*, II, p.308). But in Heinse's case prose was simply the area in which he excelled. as the description of the moon rising demonstrates.

In *Werther* ((105), 10. Sept. 1771) the moon merely serves as contrast to the "düstern Cabinette" which Werther, Lotte, and Albert approach, and to Werther's "ängstlicher Zustand". For Lotte the moon never fails to make her think of the dead, and of death, and makes her wonder about life after death, in other words: the

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69. Heinse's employer, Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal, the Elector and Archbishop of Mainz, read *Ardinghello* to the ladies of the court, as W.v.Humboldt reports (RA, 570).

moon becomes the traditional death symbol, as also in the Ossian excerpt:

Wandle durch gebrochne Wolken, o Mond, zeige wechselnd  
dein bleiches Gesicht! Erwinnere mich der schrecklichen  
Nacht, da meine Kinder umkamen, Arindel der mächtige  
fiel, Daura, die liebe, verging. (202)

Similarly, Werther's letter of 30 August (103) in which he describes himself as resting in the full moonlight, bruised and exhausted from his wanderings to ease his "Beklemmung", is very soon also followed by thoughts of death: "Ich seh all dieses Elends kein Ende als das Grab". Goethe here exploits the usually positive emotional and festive connotations of a "schöner Sommerabend" <sup>70</sup> by disappointing expectation and onesidedly concentrating on the sinking sun (without the balancing rising moon) thus turning it, too, into a symbol of death. The high grass Werther imagines by his envisaged grave emphasises its lonely, untended, pitiful aspect. The wind is the only presence there, moving the grass like someone who cares rocks a child to sleep. It is a vision not without the "romantische Ueberspannung" Werther denies, in its many negative-weighted visualisations. (187)

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70. Such as at the beginning of *Ardinghello*:

"Der ganze große Kanal schäumte und war Getümmel von schönem Leben; die Fenster der Palläste prangten mit ihren Tapeten, und die untergehende Sonne glänzte daraus wieder in unzählbaren frohlockenden Gestalten. (IV, 8; RA, 10; my underlinings)

Nearly forty years later, however, the opening poem of Goethe's *Chinesisch-deutsche Jahres- und Tageszeiten* of 1828 brings a notable echo<sup>71</sup> of Heinse's moon-rise description;

Dämmerung senkte sich von oben,/ Schon ist alle Nähe fern;/  
Doch zuerst emporgehoben/ Holden Lichts der Abendstern!/  
Alles schwankt ins Ungewisse,/ Nebel schleichen in die Höh';/  
Schwarzvertiefte Finsternisse/ Widerspiegelnd ruht der See.

Nun im östlichen Bereiche/ Ahn' ich Mondenglanz und -glut,/  
Schlanker Weiden Haargezweige/ Scherzen auf der nächsten  
Flut./ Durch bewegter Schatten Spiele/ Zittert Lunas Zaubers-  
schein, Und durchs Auge schleicht die Kühle/ Sänftigend  
ins Herz hinein. (HA, I, p. 389)

For easier comparison here again is Heinse, with my added divisions;

Ach, es war in der That ein schöner Abend!/  
Kühlender Duft senkte sich nieder/ Und hüllte nach und nach das  
Gebirg ein,/ Alles wurde verwischt/ Und Form dämmerte  
nur unten,/ Indeß oben die reinen vollkommenen Sterne blink-  
ten./ Wir meinten, wir müßten uns sogleich/ Mit dem Liede  
der holden Spanierin empor heben,/ Und unsre Stelle verlas-  
sen./ Es ist unten alles so Nichts,/ Wenn es nicht von  
dem klaren himmlischen Licht/ Seine Gestalt empfängt!/  
Dann ging der stille Mond/ Am wilden dampfenden Vesuv  
auf;/ Dunkel lag das Meer noch im Schatten,/ Und erwartete  
mit unendlichen leisen plätschernden Schlägen/ Seine Ankunft./  
Die Menschen kühlen sich ab in den Fluthen,/ Machen Chorus,/ Und  
scherzen und genießen weg ihr Daseyn./ Es ist entzük-  
kend, wie man die Erde mit sich/ Gen Osten unaufhaltbar  
fortrollen sieht/ Und die ganze Harmonie des Weltalls fühlt!/  
... Ach Gott, wer wüßte, was das Licht wäre, das so schön  
leuchtet,/ Und es erkennen könnte!/  
Es ist doch gewiß ein heilig Wesen.

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71. I acknowledge M.L.Baeumer's comment in personal correspondence on the fact that Heinse and Goethe are here using "das gleiche 'erlebte' Vokabular" for works very different in kind and in purpose: in Heinse's case "ein kosmisch entgrenzter Naturhymnus auf eine spanische Liebesromanze"; in the case of the seventy-eight years old Goethe "eine sogenannte Anverwandlung chinesischer Lyrik". Both, according to Baeumer, are using, as it were "schablonenhaft", the same pictures, metaphors, and expressions of "erlebte Lyrik", a fact demonstrating the mannered nature of poetic language of that time and in general.

it is true that Heinse and Goethe are here dipping into a common pool of language, while writing at different points in time and in different contexts.

At the same time though, there appears to be here also a special way of feeling about Nature which they share. Is there not here evidence that in both of them is active, or, as Heinse called it, "mächtig", "das Gefühl für Schönheit"? Both are describing here an aesthetic experience, brought about through response to a moment of utter Beauty in Nature, when day meets night and the scales of Time are balanced. In it is mirrored that "freie", "mittlere Stimmung" in which according to Schiller's analysis "Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft zugleich tätig sind": the aesthetic state, in which Man is wholly Man, liberated in his "Spieltrieb".<sup>72</sup> Both Heinse and Goethe are articulating that very special moment, which Goethe had also touched upon already in his panegyric of 1772 on Erwin and the cathedral in Straßburg, where he found in the twilight that his "Kraft sich wonnevoll entfaltete, zugleich zu genießen und zu erkennen".<sup>73</sup> In Goethe's poem the downward direction, "senkte sich", is met by the upward motion of "in die Höh", and between the two elements - holding them in balance, clearly inserted between them, in that "mittlere Stimmung" - the radiant light of the evening star. "Empor heben",

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72. *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, bilingual ed. by Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and L.A. Willoughby, Zwanzigster Brief, 4., p. 140

73. *Von deutscher Baukunst*, HA, XII, p. 12

Heinse shows, denotes a rapturous uplifting, or rather, in spite (or better, *because of*) the sensation of "unsre Stelle verlassen" - a physical impossibility - it denotes that aesthetic moment when Man is, in Schiller's word, "Null", in a state of "erfüllte Unendlichkeit", in which "die aesthetische Bestimmbarkeit" is one with mere "Bestimmungslosigkeit" in the one point, so that "beide jedes bestimmte Dasein ausschließen" ('Einundzwanzigster Brief' 3,4; op.cit.p.144). With darkness and in the presence of the light of the stars the aesthetic experience culminates, as Heinse's notebook original shows:

Wenn der Abend die Gebürge einhüllt, und der Duft<sup>74</sup> die Gebürge einhüllt, alles verwischt wird, nach und nach seine Form und Gestalt verliert, und ins Chaos zu fallen scheint, indeß die reinen, vollkommen Sterne oben ewig blinken, dann mein ich, ich müßte sogleich mich empor heben, das Grobe ausziehen und meine Stelle verlassen. Es ist unten alles so nichts, wenn es nicht von dem klaren himmlischen Licht seine Gestalt empfängt; und doch fühlen wir nur im Dunkeln unsre Existenz ganz. (IIV,68;my underlining)

This feeling of a *wholeness of existence*, where the "unten" and the "oben" - as in Goethe's poem too - meet in a timeless moment of Beauty and bring the impulse ("dann mein ich, ich müßte") of discarding the "Stofftrieb" ("das Grobe") like a garment, and of leaving behind ("und doch") also what might be interpreted as the "Formtrieb": the form-giving clear celestial light, exactly describes that "vollkommene Freiheit" ('Neunzehnter Brief', 10, op.cit, p.134) which a human being can aesthetically attain, and which Schiller clarifies in his concept of the "Spieltrieb". The phrase which denotes the suspension

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74. Heinse tends to use the word "Duft" in the meaning of "Dunst", i.e. "mist", as does Goethe in 1772 in connection with the Straßburg cathedral: "im Morgenduftglanz". (HA, XII, 12)

of ordinary existence in the capturing of a similar moment at the beginning of *Hildegard von Hohenthal* is "auf Momente im ewigen Leben schwimmen und schweben". Here the beauty of the stars, "die süßen Melodien und Harmonien der Phantasie", but most of all, the magic of Heinse's language, capture the moment beyond time:

Die Nacht hat etwas Zauberisches, was kein Tag hat; so etwas Grenzenloses, Inniges, Seliges. Das Mechanische der Zeitlichkeit, das einen spannt und festhält, weicht so sanft zurück, und man schwimmt und schwebt, ohne Anstoß, auf Momente im ewigen Leben. (V,5; VIII,2,246)

In the description of the moon rising next to Vesuvius the phrase denoting that ordinary existence is suspended is "sein Daseyn weg genießen". "Weg" may here perhaps be interpreted in the sense of "leaving the shackles of 'Form- und Stofftrieb' behind". The note-book version has the phrase "bloß sein Glück fühlen", thus articulating the liberalising effect of Beauty through the aesthetic state with the uplifting lightness the subject craves, yet without trivialisation. "Bloß sein Glück fühlen" here means to feel nothing but happiness, wholly feeling one's existence, wholly "Mensch" in the loveliness of the evening. Ardinghello also makes the link between beauty and happiness when he speaks of a "glückliches geheimes Gefühl" in connection with the appreciation of "Schönheit in der Baukunst" (IV,29; RA,30); and in 1790 Heinse calls the person who can fully appreciate the "Wettstreit der Schönheit" taking place during a sunrise "ein Glückskind der Natur" (VIII,2,246f.) Demetri echoes the element of good fortune here involved in the stipulation of a balance between "Verstand" and "sinnliche Vorstellungen", and thus introduces that Heinsean interest

in the specially endowed individual into the aesthetic experience:

Hohe Schönheit ist ein Gewächs auf seltnem Boden,  
und wird nur Glücklichen zur Beute. (IV, 331; RA, 315)

Heinse's verb-creation "sein Daseyn weg genießen" by which I believe he is describing here the aesthetic state has a close partner in his "wegverzückt werden". Here Ardinghello describes the moment (again, significantly, "wenn die stille Dämmerung sich einsenkt"), which turns - this time actually, an (architectural) work of art, namely the circular aperture in the centre of the roof of the Pantheon - into a ring of Beauty ("Zauberkreis" perhaps denoting that magical change to the aesthetic state), where "Erdgetümmel" "unten" gives way to the serenity of the heavens above, and the observer as in the earlier "schwimmen und schweben im ewigen Leben", floats, completely free, borne aloft, it seems, by the two-fold Beauty: that of the building, and that of the "heiteren blauen Lüfte oben":

Wir traten wieder ins Pantheon. Und um diese Zeit muß man es sehen, wenn die stille Dämmerung sich einsenkt! Da fühlt man unaussprechlich die Schönheit des Ganzen; die Masse wird noch einfacher für das Auge, und erquickt es lieblich und heilig. Dann ist es so recht der weite hohe Schönheitsvolle Zauberkreis, worin man von dem Erdgetümmel in die heiteren blauen Lüfte oben wegverzückt wird, und schwebt, und in dem unermeßlichen Umfange des Himmels athmet, befreit von allen Banden. Wir setzten uns in den süßesten Punkt und genossen. (IV, 315; RA, 300)

"Genießen", and therefore also "Genuß", are in Heinse's usage terms to be seen in all the complex light the above quotation helps to throw on them. The word "Genuß" plays a vital part in Heinse's formulation for his vision of an ecstatic life-force ever-creating new form out of

itself: "Die bildende Kraft liegt in dem Wesen, und ist ein Streben nach Genuß"(IV,320;RA,304). Heinse has Demetri discuss the suspension of temporal awareness when words create their illusion in a phrase which appears to connect "Genuß" with the terminology describing an aesthetic experience:

Wer denkt an Zeit, wenn ich einem mit Worten etwas beschreibe, und dieser getäuscht dasselbe dabey sich vorstellt? Bey jedem Genusse sind wir ewig, und scheinen die Zeit nicht mehr zu fühlen.(IV,180;RA,171, also VIII,1,505)

Towards the end of his stay in Italy Heinse once more captured that fleeting moment ("nur wenige Momente, keine Minute") when day becomes night, and refers to this feat of writing, retaining the moment and then in slow detail transferring it to paper, by the verb which describes paint being applied to a canvas: "auftragen". He thus seems to be confirming himself what has been claimed for him more than once in the course of this study, namely, that he employs his medium, the word, at times like a "bildender Künstler". I am carefully avoiding the description of Heinse as a "Wortkünstler". That term seems not to capture that apparent *transcending* of the limitation of the word and its entering the sphere of "bildende Kunst" in which the Heinsean artistry can consist. Rules of syntax are forgotten in the first two paragraphs in the utter concentration on setting down impressionistically and three-dimensionally ("vor mir, hinter mir, um mich") what the eye sees and the ear hears. The gardener with his donkeys and the boys keep that Heinsean contact with the "Erdboden". The passage is quoted here not as an example of an aesthetic experience as such (which is



still under discussion) but as an example of the exceptional response the challenge of rendering the transient can elicit from Heinse:

Den 12 May. Ich habe noch keinen süßern Uebergang von Tag in Nacht gesehen. Die Harmonie der Lichttöne vom Saffranröthlichen in milchweißen Schimmer. Jetzt reines sanftes stilles Blau, gelöscht, und den Aschgrauen Saum der Wolken, die sich dunkel leicht auswölben, und unten sich alles in der Fluth widerspiegelt, die hernach wie frische Quellentiefe fortströmt, und die grüne Nacht der Berge am Fuß, Abendstern vor mir, beynah Vollmond hinter mir, Nachtigallengesang, Grillenzirpen um mich, und aufschlipfende Fische, ist unbeschreiblich, nebst den freudigen Menschenkindern in der Ferne.

Zwey Buben machten Feuer von Rohr an und zu ihnen trieb ein Gärtner zwey Esel. Der Rauch und die Flamme und ihre Beleuchtung. Blinkende Johannismwürmchen.

Der flammend zitternde Lichtschimmer mit der ganzen Harmonie von verschiedenen Lichttinten, und dem gelöschten heitern stillen Blau dahinter dauert nur wenige Momente, keine Minute; und es gehört Phantasie und Empfindung dazu ihn aufzubewahren, und viel Kunst, ihn täuschend langsam aufzutragen. (VIII,2,35f.)

It is helpful at this point to recall Schiller's aesthetic theory, since it may serve to elucidate an area which has brought from Heinse some of his most memorable language, as well as explaining the apparent paradox of why Heinse, who, as has been shown in the Winckelmann context, abhors "Stille" and equates it with death, should yet also rejoice in "der stille Mond" (IV,373;RA,353), "die stille Dämmerung"(IV,315;RA,300), "stilles Blau"(VIII,2,35), a list which could be lengthened. It is that state of simultaneously "der höchsten Ruhe und der höchsten Bewegung": "jene wunderbare Rührung, für welche . . . die Sprache keinen Namen hat"(Fünfte Brief,9;op.cit.,p.108). This is why Ardinghello is so moved by the Rotunda (and again there is half light):

Wie breit und mächtig einen dann das Innre selbst umfaßt[.] und der dämmernde Raum dahinter, wie das allerheiligste der Gottheiten. Was dieß für eine Ruh ist! wie einen so nichts stört! wie die Rundung mit Liebesarmen empfängt, wie ein leiser Schatten einen umgibt, so daß man das Gebäude selbst nicht merkt! Oben Heiterkeit und Freyheit, und unten Schönheit. Ueberall ist der Tempel schön und harmonisch, man mag sich hinwenden, wo man will; überall wie die schöne Welt in ihren Kreisen von Sonn und Mond und Sternen[.]. So oft ich mich so ins Stille hinsetze und meinem Gefühl überlasse, werd ich da entzückt, wie von einem Brunnquell unter kühlen Bäumen zur heißen Zeit. Es ist das erhabenste Gebäude, das ich kenne. (IV, 268; RA, 256)

"Unten" and "oben" again feature in the aesthetic suspension of reality (shown by the building becoming just "Rundung", so one is no longer aware of it as a building). Through the upward scale "Schönheit", "Heiterkeit", "Freiheit" Schiller's concerns are demonstrated again.

Where Ardinghello relishes the beauty of the world ("die schöne Welt") as revealed like a loving embrace by the sublime building, and where "dämmern" ("der dämmernde Raum") brings a moment conducive to the aesthetic state, in the case of Werther "dämmern" ("wenn's dann um meine Augen dämmert") denotes the opposite: a break in wholeness of relating to Beauty. Consequently consciousness of the world around does not, as the aesthetic state does, liberate, but only brings home to Werther his helpless crushed state in the face of its splendour: "Aber ich gehe darüber zu Grunde, ich erliege unter der Gewalt der Herrlichkeit dieser Erscheinungen" ((9f.), 10. May).

The perhaps most beautiful and most moving description of an aesthetic experience has not found its way into *Ardinghello*, but must be included here:

Den 25 August 1780 auf dem Zuger See nach Art; von 10-12 Uhr. Ich bin für himmlischer Freude fast vergangen. So etwas schönes von Natur hab ich mein Lebtage nicht gesehn. Der spiegelreine leicht und zartgekräuselte grünlichte See, [...], die vielen hohen Nuß und Fruchtbäume auf den grünrasichten reinen Anhöhen, die lieblichen Formen den Berg hinan, [...]hier buschicht wie Bergsamt, dort hochwaldicht mit mannichfaltigen Schattierungen süßen Lichtes; und in der Tiefe hinten der hohe Riegenberg graulich und dunkel vor der Sonne. Alle Massen rein und groß und ungekünstelt hingeworfen; und weiter hin rechter Hand die hohen Schneegebürge, die über den Streifwolken ihre Häupter emporstrecken. Und wie sich das alles tief in den See unten hineinspiegelt sanfter und milder. [...] Ich kanns nicht aussprechen; Gottes Schönheit dringt in all mein Wesen, ruhig und warm und rein; ich bin von allen Banden gelöst, und walle Himmel über mir Himmel unter mir im Element der Geister wie ein Fisch in Quelle Seeligkeit einathmend und ausathmend. Alles ist still und schwebt im Genuß. Nichts regt sich, als die plätschernden Flosfedern meines Machens, der unmerkliche Taktschlag zu dem wollüstigen geistigen Concerte. Immer stärker läuft mir das Entzücken wie ein Felsenquell durch alle Gewebe meines Rückgrads. (VII, 34f.; my underlinings)

Heinse here clearly shows that for him the Beauty of Nature ("so etwas schönes von Natur", "Gottes Schönheit") is the work of art which brings about the aesthetic experience. "Ungekünstelt hingeworfen" is a judgement on an artistic creation. The necessary "middle state" between pure intellect and the senses which Schiller discerned in the aesthetic state may be detected here in the dual elements of the single phrases "im Element der Geister/wie ein Fisch in Quelle" and "wollüstig/geistlich", linked together as harmoniously as breathing in and breathing out blissfully. Again the feeling of a liberating release ("von allen Banden gelöst"), and of floating ("schwebt im Genuß") is held between an upper and a lower element, marvellously making use of the sky reflected in the water: "Himmel über mir Himmel unter mir". By contrast with the twilight connected with the aesthetic state all is clearly etched in bright light, bringing home

the fact that perfect noon clarity can also help to create the aesthetic experience for Heinse. The majestically simple polysyndeton at the heart of the passage "ruhig und warm und rein" encapsulated within it (in "warm") the sensuous gratification side by side with the clarity assisting the intellect ("rein") articulates the awareness of Beauty by the whole self ("all mein Wesen").

My suggestion, having now looked at some of Heinse's Nature descriptions, is that Heinse experiences Nature aesthetically. This conclusion contradicts that of H.R.Sprengel (op.cit.,p.13) who finds "Religiosität" to be the "Urgrund dessen, was für Heinse die Natur bedeutete". It also contradicts that of H.Mohr (op.cit.,p.89) who suggests that Heinse on the Zuger See "läßt sich fallen", "das Göttliche berührt ihn", and that the "Unsagbarkeit" ("ich kann's nicht aussprechen") underlines the religious structure of the experience. But, as I have tried to show, the aesthetic state is also impossible to articulate; and in my view, not the felt presence of God permeates Heinse, but that of Beauty (i.e. not "Gottes Schönheit", but "Gottes Schönheit").

"Genuß" in Heinse's sense, as has been shown, carries aesthetic connotations; and so it is possible to interpret the vital force ("das Wesen"- or itself "die Natur"(IV,288; RA,275)) which, according to Demetri, unendingly strives in its "Streben nach Genuß" to assume ever-new multifarious form, as containing an aesthetic dimension. The "mannigfaltigen Schattierungen süßen Lichts" on the Zuger See may then be seen as the manifestation of, to coin a phrase, "das Wesen als Künstler". "Schattierung", like "hinwerfen",

are terms painters use. So also can be "Lichttinten" (in the last sunset description quoted above), as Ardinghello shows, who connects the fine discerning of nuances by a master painter capturing "das Lebendige" with "Tinten": "das Lebendige mit allen den feinen Tinten in ihrer Vermischung, und schwindenden Umrissen, die keine bloße Linie faßt"(IV,15;RA,16). Seeing the involvement of the aesthetic in the Nature descriptions acts as an important key to understanding an otherwise somewhat puzzling stylistic peculiarity, namely, references to art in *Ardinghello* and elsewhere when the focus is on Nature. They might otherwise be seen as rather clumsily inserted displays of knowledge of art. It is now possible though to explain for instance why Ardinghello, waiting for Cäcilia in a fever of impatience, turns aside and embarks on a detailed scrutiny of a painting by the "göttlichen Tizian". It means that when Cäcilia, the triumphant personification of Beauty in Nature, finally appears, Heinse can have her aesthetically outshining the painting:

Endlich erschien sie doch, und armer Tizian, wie  
fielst Du weg! O alle Kunst neige Dich vor der Natur!  
Sie zog zur Pforte herein, den Kopf in Eure Tracht  
versteckt, wie in dünnem Gewölk aufgehende Sonne,  
vor ihrem Glanze verschwand alles, oder bekam Ansehen,  
Wesen, lenkte sich zu einem Ganzen. (IV,47;RA,45;my under-  
lining)

Ardinghello gropes in four different attempts for articulation of this aesthetic moment (evidence of Schiller's "Rührung, für welche . . . die Sprache keinen Namen hat"?), catching the seeming paradox incorporated in the experience of the simultaneity of opposites ("verschwand/bekam Ansehen") by the wholeness of perception ("zu einem Ganzen"), made possible by the splendour ("Glanz") of natural Beauty.

Once Heinse's aesthetic interpretation of Nature is recognised, it is possible to see also why Fiordimona (into whose mouth Heinse put his notebook entry of VII,103) can be on the one hand ecstatic at the sight of the Velino waterfall, and on the other still sufficiently in command of herself to compare volubly Art with Nature:

Fiordimona jauchzte vor Freude in das allgewaltige Leben hinein, und rief außer sich unter dem brausenden Ungestüm: "Es ist ein Kunstwerk, so vollkommen in seiner Art, als irgendeins vom Homer, Pindar, oder Sophokles, Praxiteles und Apelles, wozu Mutter Natur Stoff und Hand lieh". (IV,365;RA,345f.;my underlining)

Why such a tongue-twisting "cultural" mouthful at this moment if it is not to give depth to the aesthetic dimension of the experience,<sup>75</sup> the result of Mother Nature's work, the supreme artist's? This impression is borne out by Heinse continuing and pinpointing the strength-giving impact of the splendidly beautiful scene:

Die große Natur der herrlichen Gebirge herum, . . . das einfache Ganze, was das Auge so entzückt, auf einmal ohne alle Zerstreung; so wollüstig verziert, und doch so völlig wie kunstlos, nährt des Menschen Geist wie lauter kräftiger Kern. (IV,365;RA,346)

And, when Ardinghello recalls his happiness with Cäcilia, he seems to be doing so in terms relating to an aesthetic experience. That at least is my interpretation of this elevating blend between "das Irdische" and "Geist" in which the self for moments disappears, (becomes "Null").

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75. It is the same technique Heinse applies in the third Rhine fall description: "Der Perlenstaub . . . bildet ein so fürchterliches Ganzes, . . . daß alle Tiziane, Rubense und Vernets vor der Natur müssen zu kleinen Kindern und lächerlichen Affen werden". And: "Laßt euch die Natur eine andere Oper vorstellen, mit anderer Architektur, und andrer Fernmahlerey, und andrer Harmonie". (VII,23-26;X,33-35)

Is "unsterbliche Klarheit und Reinheit" not a definition of Beauty?

Seelige Augenblicke, wo an mir alles Irdische sich bey ihr zu Geist erhöhte, ich vor mir selbst verschwand in einem Meer untergetaucht von unsterblicher Reinheit und Klarheit! (IV; 63; RA, 60)

E.Hock (op.cit., p.362) considers the quotation above to mean an *erotic* encounter in poetic form. He interprets "daß das Irdische sich 'zu Geist erhöht'" as meaning "tiefstes glückhaftes Innwerden des eigenen Ich in seiner unzerstörbaren Lebendigkeit". But "Innwerden" is by no means "verschwinden". And when Hock states "im höchsten Entzücken fällt alles ab, was den innersten Lebenskern beschränkt", he equates "höchstes Entzücken" with "seelige Augenblicke". The latter could mean here the blissful release experienced by the self when liberated from its upper and lower bonds in the aesthetic state, and not the "Entgrenzung" of a Dionysian merging into cosmic infinity, as which Hock sees "vor sich selbst verschwinden". I remain unconvinced that the "seeligen Augenblicke" (without denying their erotic element) are not, all the same, aesthetically based, especially as Ardinghello had been shown to see Cäcilia as a work of art created by Nature.

For Ardinghello his openness to the aesthetic experience both in Nature and in art is an essential facet in his stance. The balancing function it can perform for him is sadly absent for Werther. The exclamation "Wehe! Wehe!" articulates the choking anguish threatening to tear him apart. His unbearable inner agitation drives him out of doors, but Nature holds no aesthetic liberation for him:

Es ist ein inneres unbekanntes Toben, das meine Brust zu zerreißen droht, das mir die Gurgel zupreßt! Wehe! Wehe! Und dann schweif ich umher in den furchtbaren nächtlichen Szenen dieser menschenfeindlichen Jahrszeit. ((172);12.Dez.1772)

Nature in its turmoil and devastation mirrors his own fatal downward pull "hinab! hinab", "all meine Quaalen all mein Leiden da hinab zu stürmen"(173). But even at this moment when his own black mood and the moon: above the black cloud seem, if only negatively, but yet in tune with each other, the one-ness with Nature for which he yearns is beyond him: "Wie gern hätt ich all mein Menschseyn darum gegeben, mit jenem Sturmwind die Wolken zu zerreißen"(173). "Menschseyn" in the aesthetic sense, as proposed by Schiller in his Fifteenth Aesthetic Letter, 9.: "Der Mensch ist nur da ganz Mensch, wo er spielt"(op.cit., p.106), is an essential element which Werther lacks and Ardinghello possesses. The absence or presence of this element is an angle from which the language of the two works may be viewed, and might be seen to account in some measure for the unredeemable negative, unbalanced feel of it, the unfulfillable subjunctives, from "ach, könntest du" to "wie gern hätt ich" in *Werther*. In *Ardinghello* on the other hand, as in the Greeks he so much admires, is active, or as he puts it, "mächtig", "das Gefühl für Schönheit". He, too, can feel the searing ravages of an enslaving passion (which he expresses through fire imagery):

Ach, wer weiß, wie dieß enden wird! Mir ist so warm in der Brust, daß michs wie auf einen Punkt brennt, und dabey zuweilen bange. Eine Gluth scheint mein innerstes Leben anzugreifen und davon zu zehren; ich gehe herum wie ein Thier, das an einem Schusse blutet. . . . Ich habe meine Freiheit verloren, und kann mich nicht ermannen. (IV, 240; RA, 229)



Yet for Ardinghello freedom is achievable at any time ("so bald ich will") through the aesthetic state, attainable in the contemplation of the great works of art such as the Belvedere Torso by Apollonius and the Laocoon group by Agesander:

Die noch immer schönen und heitern Morgen bring ich  
im Belvedere zu, lästerlich! bloß um mich zu zerstreuen,  
und auf andre Gedanken zu kommen. Aber Apollonios und  
Agesander verstehen ihre Kunst doch auch so, daß  
sie mich allemal früh oder spät mit ihrer Schönheit  
und Wahrheit an sich locken und einnehmen. O wie  
erhebt dieß meinen Geist, daß er solche Brüder hat!  
Wir sind ewig, unsterblich, bewegen uns selbst, und  
schaffen; nichts kann uns Schranken setzen! Die  
Materie, die meinen freyen Vogelflug hemmt, werf  
ich ab, so bald ich will. (IV, 240; RA, 230)

In other words, the achievement of the aesthetic state acts as a restorative, an aid to the regaining and retention of sanity and balance. Through the "Schönheit und Wahrheit" of great art (and in another context Nature would be included at this point as the greatest artist) Ardinghello is liberated in "freyen Vogelflug" above all that is base in earthly existence: "die Materie".

H. Hettner (Appendix 1, 26)) sees as "die Grundidee" in Ardinghello "das Stürmen und Flammen der Leidenschaft". Surely another more profound "Grundidee" must be added to this: what F. Bouterwek (App. 1, 17)) calls "Darstellung des Schönen". The representations of Beauty form the thread which runs through Ardinghello and binds together its diverse elements. Far from being "ein Haufen zusammenhanglosen Stückwerks"<sup>76</sup> Ardinghello is a document of Ardinghello/Heinse making the beautiful his own in

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76. E. Ermatinger, op.cit., p. 263

its many varied manifestations. E.Hock (op.cit.p.356) is quite right: there is here "kein Weg zu den großen poetischen Gattungen": *Ardinghello* - and with it its style and language - is not classifiable under any recognised genre or movement. To reduce the work to the level of "almost a kind of Baedeker guide to the art centres of Italy"<sup>77</sup>as W.Kohlschmidt does under the promising heading "Man as an Aesthetic Being" is not surprising in view of the frustration of finding no altogether satisfactory niche for it under "German Classicism", "Storm and Stress", "Romanticism", "Künstlerroman", "Haller's Staatsromane" and more. H.A.Korff finds the book a waste of "außerordentlicher Kolorismus", hardly more than the "Traumbild eines erotischen Monomanen", yet then hastens to praise Heinse as "Naturschilderer" and "Kunstschriftsteller".<sup>78</sup> What he fails to see is that the novel's erotic element is essentially part of the portrait of Ardinghello as a Lover of Beauty in his quest to become one with the beauty of the world: "sich mit dem Schönen zu vereinigen, wo ichs finde", "der edelste Trieb unsers Geistes" (IV,111;RA,106). This element extends from Cäcilia to the cosmos in its "lustschwebenden ätherischen Zärtlichkeiten" (IV,280;R RA,267) and provides the points of orientation for the Renaissance/*Sturm und Drang* "Kernmensch" Ardinghello, the outstanding individual around whom the novel is

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77. *A History of German Literature*, p.132

Heinse did not become a Roman Catholic (and thus provides no "remarkable analogy to the Romantics"(p.133) in this respect) See M.L.Baeumer, *Heinse-Studien*, pp.10-35: 'Heinse's angebliche Konversion und seine religiöse Anschauung'.

78. *Geist der Goethezeit*, vol.I, p.258

constructed. V.Lange has well formulated the essence of Heinse as "total commitment to an aesthetic creed". He also fittingly calls him not a writer but "an artist" of "considerable seriousness" when he assigns to him a "rank of exceptional importance".<sup>79</sup> The language in *Ardinghello* is exceptional, as the chorus of acclaim in Appendix 1 certifies. By way of final proof of Heinse's primary concern with Beauty indirect confirmation may be seen in Heinse's avoidance of "Abgebrochenheit" - as if he cannot bring himself to join in this feature of *Sturm und Drang* utterance so well exploited by Goethe for Werther. After expressions of admiration for Greece and the beautiful naked figures of its "wahre Kunst" Ardinghello and Benedikt embrace in the joy of discovering themselves as kindred spirits. Heinse describes their excitement, but makes no attempt to reproduce their fragmented speech: "Es wurde überhaupt wenig mehr gesprochen außer unzusammenhängende Reden im lyrischen Taumel, Akzente der Natur". (IV, 20; RA, 20-21) Similarly, when Ardinghello meets again his old friend Mazzuolo, he states: "Wir teilten einander unsern Seelenjubiläum mit im Winkel durch Blick und Kuß und Händedruck und kurze abgebrochene Reden". (IV, 145; RA, 139) The reason for again not actually reproducing "Abgebrochenheit" is quite probably that it is a rhetorical phenomenon which offends against the high classical ideal of stylistic beauty which Heinse always upholds, and thus has no place in *Ardinghello*.

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79. Op.cit., p.81

### CONCLUSION

It has been evident from the start of this attempt at evaluation of Wilhelm Heinse's style and language that here is a departure into new possibilities of expressiveness. It also soon became clear that this new departure is not to be accommodated under any of the recognised "Strömungen" of the age, especially in view of the fact that the time of the writing of *Werther*, a time also highly influential on Heinse, lay, as H. Flaschka, (op.cit., p.101) puts it, "im Spannungsfeld einander sich überlagernder Strömungen; die in ihrem Neben- und Miteinander komplizierte Zuordnungsverhältnisse schaffen". Flaschka mentions *Aufklärung*, *Sturm und Drang*, and *Empfindsamkeit*, and their heterogeneity in this context. To this must be added a *Barock* strand which, as has been shown, is frequently present in the language of Wieland, from whom the young Heinse learned much. To please Gleim Heinse displays towards him the tone of the cult of friendship and the *Anakreontik*; while reserving a gruff *Sturm und Drang* voice especially for Klinger, demonstrating the ease with which he could adopt one tone or another and then put it aside. The early *Musikalische Dialogen* in their turn project something of the "Genie" quality of their writer in their bold assertiveness. Already here and later (for instance in *Ardinghello*, (IV, 152-159; RA, 145-151), there

is the powerful language in which he criticises society for its detrimental effect on education and on the advancement of the (talented) individual, and joins in the general "Tyrannenhaß" - theme of the time. Although the radical tone of these writings makes them memorable and worthy of focus in their own right, other areas are more promising for finding what makes Heinse linguistically and stylistically different.<sup>1</sup>

Certainly a different, a "Heinsean" quality already begins to emerge in Chapter I of this study. The factors contributing to this quality may be summed up as follows: Firstly, the will to burst the bounds of artful *Rokoko* "Tändelei" for the sake of a more honest realism, which may be seen as first evidence of Heinse's concern - which becomes so notable later - to depict things as they are. Secondly, Heinse's innate, one may say, instinctive aesthetic sense begins to assert itself, in the way the abovementioned bursting of bounds is carried out, namely: by upholding the classical beauty of form of Ariosto's *ottave rime*. In so doing Heinse also scores a triumph by demonstrating for the first time that the German language is pliable enough to be adapted successfully to this classical meter.

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1. Heinse's translations: (*Begebenheiten des Eskolp*. Aus dem *Satyricon* des Petron übersetzt, 2 vols, 1773; *Das befreyte Jerusalem von Torquato Tasso*, 4 vols, 1781; and *Roland der Wüthende. Ein Heldengedicht von Ludwig Ariost dem Göttlichen*, 4 vols, 1782-1783; all in prose) are also not being considered in this study, since by definition they must contain an element of other authors rather than being wholly Heinse.

A third factor to emerge as a fundamental stimulus underlying Heinse's language is the fascination the concept of the outstanding individual holds for him. It is doing a disservice to Heinse to reduce the scope of this concept to a perpetual self-projection by Heinse, of the kind Montenbruck suggests throughout his study.<sup>2</sup> There is far more to this concept: it may be seen as the personified spirit of *Sturm und Drang* at its most magnificent. Alexander the Great, the *Megalopsychos* of Aristotle, and the *Uomo Universalis* of the Renaissance all have their share, Rubens is its manifestation, and so are great natural phenomena like the waterfall of the Rhine. The concept comes to life in the lightning imagery surrounding the "Genie", in the storminess of "höchstes Leben" connected with the "großer Mensch", and the element of fire associated with the "Kernmensch", and provides the impetus for some of Heinse's most extraordinary expressiveness.

With the *Gemähldebrieft* Heinse turns for the first time to descriptive prose, and at once reveals his genius for transmitting what he perceives, in unsurpassed vivid immediacy, turning the painted canvas into gripping real life, and in the process pushing syntax to and beyond its limits with the boldness of a true *Stürmer und Dränger* in regard to traditional rhetoric. In Laidion's address to her soul there had been detectable something of the irrational intoxicated breaking of boundaries which mark the Dionysian phenomenon,

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2. *Wilhelm Heinses Sprache bis zu seiner italienischen Reise.*

by the extreme massing of diminutives and the loss of control alluded to by the metaphor of drowning. Yet even here the threatened loss of control does not extend to the fabric of the language, confirming the impression that the beauty of language is held by Heinse as inviolate. Terms like "herumtaumeln", from the bacchanalia in *Ardinghello*, or "unzusammenhangende Reden im lyrischen Taumel" (IV,20;RA,20-21), form part of a narrative which is pursued with a "Klarheit und Festigkeit der Sprache"<sup>3</sup> never absent from the time Heinse left Halberstadt in 1774 for Düsseldorf. Distinguished critics are cited by M.L.Baeumer in support of evidence of a "dionysische Form seines [Heinse's] Dichtens",<sup>4</sup> which according to Baeumer's definition (p.38) would mean evidence of "ekstatische Übersteigerung", "die rauschhaft empfundene Selbststeigerung und Entgrenzung ins Übermaß bis zur Entzückung, zum Wahn oder bis zur Vernichtung". Such evidence has not been found in this study with regard to Heinse's language. What has been found is evidence of an often exhilarated, deeply-moved, but clear-eyed and clear-headed speaker, who is informed by the cultural tradition going back to Greece, whose feet, however, are firmly planted on the ground of the here and now, who finds "unübertrefflich eigene, bezeichnende Worte"<sup>5</sup> with "Sicherheit" and

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3. Montenbruck, p.23

4. *Das Dionysische*, p.110. Baeumer cites v.Wiese, Jessen, Waetzold, and Kriegelstein.

5. Rahel, quoted by H.Laube, op.cit.,p.LXIV

"Klarheit",<sup>6</sup> "wie jede wahre Natur, die sich echt und ehrlich ausspricht".<sup>7</sup> What has been interpreted as intoxicated "Übersteigerung" in the language with its "Tasten nach dem je stärksten, sinnlichsten Ausdruck"<sup>8</sup> has in this study been interpreted as the extraordinary precision and sensitivity of a reporting talent, which, the Heinsean perception being such a finely-tuned instrument, requires for its transmission at times a great massing of words, all with the one object: to project "wie es ist". Taking the liberty of transposing Mozart's reply to Joseph II (who found "too many notes"<sup>9</sup> also a kind of "Übersteigerung"?) one may claim for Heinse's language that "there are just as many words as there should be". An analogy with Mozart may be made at another level for Heinse's language. Like the product of Mozart's genius it has about it the classical quality of timeless beauty (the occasional straining of syntax only makes for greater variation and does nothing to undermine that effect, enlivens it in fact, as do the dips into homely language, just like Mozart's inclusion of an occasional *Ländler*). In this timeless quality, "im zeitlosen Wort seiner Prosa"<sup>10</sup> must lie the reason why Heinse's language has lost none of

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6. H.Eulenberg, Introduction to *Ardinghello*.

7. J.Minor, RA, 569

8. H.Mohr, op.cit., p.87

9. Norman Lebrecht, *The Book of Musical Anecdotes*, (London, 1985), p.60

10. R.Benz, *Vom großen Leben*, p.5.



its freshness after two hundred years, in fact "ist jung geblieben".<sup>11</sup> The melodiousness and subtle rhythmicity of Heinse's language with classical meters evoked within the prose with apparent effortlessness is further enhanced by the harmonious balancing of negative and positive elements within the structure. Again the analogy with classical music is evoked, where the resolution consists of passing from a dissonant to a concordant or consonant note. This balance within the structure, within a sentence, or within a whole paragraph forms for the reader a highly satisfying element of awareness especially so since "Düsteres, Grausiges, Nordisches" (Appendix 1,24)) is entirely absent!<sup>12</sup> Only in the last sentence of *Ardinghello* is the pattern reversed, and the novel ends in a minor key. It is a realistic concession, at the very end of a book which is one homage to Beauty and where the beauty of the language is the tool by which Heinse imposes a unifying element on the many-faceted work. Small blemishes like the unconvincing theatrical-sounding dialogues between Ardinghello and Cäcilia may be ignored here. Perhaps they even contribute to the impression that the whole book is

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11. Eulenberg, *ibid.*

12. With one exception, at the end of the letter from the St. Gotthardt (X,38;1.9.1780), where Heinse suddenly sounds like a Romantic: "Und eine unaussprechlich schöne Gestalt voll grauser Majestät schwebte wie ein Berggeist in der Dämmerung an mir vorüber. Schauer auf Schauer wallten wie Fluthen durch meine Seele, und mir sträubten sich die Haare auf dem Haupte".

the product of a "bildender Künstler" with words, and that the response to the "Gefühl für Schönheit" which is the driving force throughout the book, should be an aesthetic one, brought about by applying an "ästhetischen Maßstab", as W.Brecht (op.cit.,p.54) asserts. Seen in this light, what O.Keller states concerning "Ardinghellos Erotik", namely that "immer webt in ihr ein Ewiges", may indeed be applied to Heinse's language as a whole. Still borrowing from Keller, one may describe Ardinghello/Heinse's concern as: "im höchsten Sinne Weg zum Schönen" (RA,p.621). Reading *Ardinghello* and the great art and nature descriptions bring about in the reader that marvellous state of being "ganz Mensch" which Schiller described as the aesthetic state. This is Heinse's unique achievement - and also the cause of his continuing misfortune concerning recognition, since his uniqueness makes him so hard, if not impossible, to classify until he is raised to a place of honour in his own right.

Much needs to be done to promote a better understanding of Wilhelm Heinse. Two reasons for his continuing undeserved obscurity were put forward in the Introduction. To this must be added a third: the inaccessibility of his work, apart from the valuable Reclam critical edition of *Ardinghello* by M.L.Baeumer of 1975 and Dürten Hartmann-Wülker's edition of *Ardinghello* (Nördlingen,1986). Only the promised new edition of Heinse's works will provide the conditions under which recognition for Wilhelm Heinse can finally be achieved.

APPENDIX No. 1

Favourable comment on Heinse's language

1) Goethe to Schönborn, 4.7.1774; (ZZ, p.9):

Es [*Laidion*] ist mit der blühendsten Schwärmerei der geilen Grazien geschrieben und läßt Wieland und Jacobi weit hinter sich. . . . Hintenan sind Ottave angedruckt, die alles übertreffen, was je mit Schmelzfarben gemalt worden.

2) Merck to Nicolai, 28.8.1774; (ZZ, p.11):

Die Verse [the Stanzen], die hinten angehängt sind, übertreffen nach meiner Meinung alles an Politur und Feinheit, was ich je von dieser Art gesehen habe.

3) Goethe (reported by Heinse), 8.9.1774; (IX, 254):

Das ist mein Mann! Er hat Hunderten das Wort vom Maule weggenommen. Eine solche Fülle hat sich mir so leicht nicht dargestellt. . . . Man muß ihn bewundern oder mit ihm wetteifern.

And, in the presence of Lavater; 8.9.1774:

Ich glaubte nicht, daß so was in der deutschen Sprache möglich wäre.

13.10.1774; (IX, 228):

Und was die Stanzen betrifft, so was hab ich für unmöglich gehalten. Es ist doch nichts als eine Jouissance, aber der Teufel mach dir 50 solche Stanzen darüber nach. . . . Es ist so vieles darinn, das nicht anders ist, als ob ich's selbst geschrieben habe.

4) Klopstock (reported by Heinse), 28.3.1775, (IX, 242):

In den Merkur hab' ich zwey Briefe über den Ricciardetto geschrieben, . . . die Klopstock mit Beifall noch im Manuskript gelesen. Der Schöpfer des Messias hat dem Uebersetzer des Petron und dem Verfasser der *Laidion* und dem Sänger der schönen Stanzen sagen lassen, daß er ihn sehr hoch schätze.

5) F.L.W Meyer, in *Göttingische Anzeigen von Gelehrten Sachen*, 1787, (RA, 564), referring to Ardinghello (hereafter: Ard.):

Die lebendige Darstellung hoher Schöpfungen der Natur und Kunst bleibt unverkennbar. Den Verfasser, der sich nicht genannt hat, verrät die Fülle seiner Sprache.

6) J.C.Reinhart to Schiller, 1788, (RA,568):

Seine [Ardinghello's] Bemerkungen über Kunst sind schön und neu und seine glühende Phantasie hat mich so angesteckt, daß ich oft glaubte, ich müßte mein Ränzchen packen und davonlaufen.

7) Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 1957, (VI,pt.1,p.293):

Heinse ist der einzige Vertreter der Geniezeit, der . . . das eigene Kunstempfinden und seine Ergriffenheit in Bildbeschreibungen anderen mitteilen kann.

8) Review in *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, 1788/89, (author not named), (RA,570):

Zu der schätzbarsten Seite des Buchs [Ard.] gehören die meisterhaften Schilderungen und Beurteilungen schöner Gegenstände, die man nicht ohne die lebhafteste Teilnahme lesen kann.

9) Review in *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 1791, (RA,571): (author not named):

Nichts zieht den Leser bei diesem Werke [Ard.] mehr an sich als die kraftvolle üppige Diktion, die starken und feurigen Schilderungen und die kühnen Gedanken, welche alle oft mit solcher Täuschung auf ihn wirken, daß er sich aus der wirklichen Welt in jenes schöne Zeitalter der italienischen Geschichte hinübergezaubert glaubt.

10) Hettner, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, p.263:

[Heinse's descriptive writings] gehören durch die Tiefe ihrer künstlerischen Einsicht und durch die seltene Gabe, das Eigenartige bildender Kunst mit offenem greifendem Auge zu fühlen und es in anschaulich sinnlichen Worten auch der Phantasie des Lesers greifbar zu machen, zu dem Herrlichsten und Empfindensten aller Kunstdliteratur.

11) J.B.Erhard, 1788, (RA,568):

Die Sprache [in Ard.] ist meisterhaft, volltönend für das Ohr, schildernd für das Auge, bedeutend und belebend für jeden Sinn.

12) C.G.Körner to Schiller, 1788, (RA,567):

Der Ausdruck im einzelnen ist Leben und Fülle.

13) F. L.J.Thimm, *The Literature of Germany*, London, 1844, p.212.

The novel of Ardinghello contains a multitude of original descriptions of natural scenery, while his allusions to the remains of ancient art are written in the same winning and extraordinary force of language.

14) Barbara Schultheß to Goethe, 1788, (RA,567):

Ich weiß noch kein Buch, das ich mit so empörten Gefühlen wegschmiß wie dies [Ard] . . . Die Sprache reizte mich, ich nahm es wieder und hob heraus, was über Kunst und Gegend geschrieben war.

15) F.v.Stolberg, 1787, (RA,564) [on Ard]:

Das Büchlein ist mit solchem Geist und Feuer geschrieben, daß ich nur sehr wenige unter unsern guten Schriftstellern kenne, denen ich ein solches Produkt zutrauen könnte.

16) H.Koch, *Deutsche Schriftsteller als Richter ihrer Zeit*, 1947, quoted in *Sturm und Drang*, Berlin, 1978, p.381:

Heinses Prosa ist vielleicht die lebendigste, feinnervigste und kräftigste, die im achtzehnten Jahrhundert von einem deutschen Dichter geschrieben wurde. Stets findet er die richtige Metapher, das seinem Gegenstand entsprechende Bild. Sie ist voller Feuer und Nerv, voller Wohlklang und Klarheit.

17) F.Bouterwek, in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1806, (RA,574):

Bouterwek discusses why the public is no longer sufficiently aware "wie ihm keiner in feuriger Darstellung des Schönen, gezügelt von dem richtigsten Urteile, in den bildenden Künsten und der Tonkunst gleichkam und wenige wie er Naturszenen zu schildern vermochten".

18) Karoline Herder and Herder, 1796, (ZZ,p.36):

Hildegard von Hohenthal haben wir mit der größten Theilnehmung gelesen; so schön und belehrend haben wir noch nichts über Musik gehört und so schön und einfach gesagt.

19) K.D.Jessen, 1901, (op.cit.,p.12):

Er verstand sich einzufühlen, nachzuschaffen und den Gedanken des Künstlers nachzugehen. Daher ist es auch sein Ruhm geworden, wie selten einer den sinnlichen und den Gefühlsinhalt von Werken der räumlichen Künste wie der Musik durch die Sprache wiedergegeben zu haben, so weit das eben möglich ist.

20) R.Benz, (ed.) *Wilhelm Heinse. Vom großen Leben*, 1945, p.19:

Im Bereiche der Sprache bedeutete Heinses Wiedergabe der Rubensschen Bilder, daß die Sprache überhaupt zum erstenmal die Macht des Bildenden nachhallt.

21) E.Hock, 1962?, (op.cit.,p.355):

Gesättigt von Anschauung ist sie [the language] niemals bloßer Hall, sondern immer - um sein Lieblingswort zu gebrauchen - 'Kern'.

22) F. Poppenberg, in *Menschlichkeiten*, 1919, (RA, p. 600-601):

Malerische Empfänglichkeit und Ausdruckskunst voll Unersättlichkeit und Fülle zieht in den Kreis Landschaft, Gebirge, Ruinengefild und Meer und wetteifern in Wortgemälden mit der bildenden Kunst.

23) K. D. Jessen, (op.cit., p. 31):

In Italien erreichte der Stil seiner Schilderungen jene . . . klassische Art der Verbindung von sinnlicher Glut und ruhigem Fluß der Worte bei höchster Anschaulichkeit und Bildlichkeit, die uns noch immer wieder erstaunen macht.

24) W. Sömmerring, 1844, (ZZ, p. 51):

Alle seine Schilderungen atmen einen südlichen Geist, . . . nie enthalten sie etwas Düsteres, Grausiges, Nordisches; dies war durchaus gegen seine Natur.

25) J. G. Jacobi, 1804, (ZZ, p. 42):

Ueberall werden sie [the readers] feinen griechischen Sinn mit der fruchtbaren, oft schwelgenden Phantasie der Italiener, Zartgefühl mit Kraft und satirisches Lächeln mit einer gewissen immer durchscheinenden Gutmütigkeit vereinigt finden.

26) H. Hettner, 1869, (RA, 590):

Die Grundidee [in *Ard.*], das Stürmen und Flammen der Leidenschaft, ist mit rücksichtsloser Energie und mit packender Gewalt ausgesprochen; über den herrlichen Naturschilderungen liegt der leuchtende Farbenzauber der südlichen Sonne; . . . eine der denkwürdigsten und geistvollsten Schöpfungen der deutschen Literatur.

27) Walther Brecht, 1911, (op.cit., p. XI; p. XIV):

"Der Zauberer der Landschaftsschilderung". "Niemand schildert wie er".

28) H. R. Sprengel, *Naturanschauung und malerisches Empfinden bei Wilhelm Heinse*, 1930, p. 5:

Heinses Art zu schildern ist Verflechtung einer homerischen Rhapsodie von heroischem, vollen, satten Klang mit der unruhigen Reizbarkeit impressionistischer Töne. . . . Momentaufnahmen von wunderbarer Schärfe und Lebendigkeit. Das Unruhige und Schäumende und Wechselnde einer in tausend Lichtern und Farben gespiegelten, gebrochenen, aufleuchtenden Wirklichkeit ist nicht mehr 17. Jahrhundert in der Malerei, sondern vorausgenommenes 19. Jahrhundert, impressionistisches Sehen, Schilderung von aufblitzenden einmaligen Sichten.

29) O.Keller, 1972, (RA,620):

Heinse, sich schon in seinen Briefen aus der Schweiz und Italien als großartiger Schilderer von Natur- und Kunsterlebnissen erweisend, entwickelt in seinem *Ardinghello* eine Sageweise von hinreißender Kraft der Unmittelbarkeit.

30) H.v.Hofmannsthal, (quoted by Kaltenbrunner, op.cit., p.55):

Ein großer Maler des Nackten mit Worten.

31) G.-K.Kaltenbrunner, 1988, (op.cit., p.56):

Dieser Versuch, ein Bild in Worten zu vergegenwärtigen [the Titian Venus] . . . Das ist hinreißend beschrieben, mit einer beinahe schon distanzlosen Einfühlung.

32) P.Kluckhohn, *Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts und in der deutschen Romantik*, Tübingen, 1966, p.218:

Seine Tagebücher zeigen seine sinnliche Vitalität in impressionistischen Äußerungen unmittelbarster Lebensempfindung. Die erotisch betonte sinnliche Lust des Bades hat vor ihm keiner so empfunden und ausgesprochen.

33) H.Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism in German Literature*, 1964, (RA,618):

Heinse appears in this novel [Ard.] as a master of German prose; the style is vividly clear; descriptions glow, particularly in the amorous passages. At times he achieves almost Joycean effects by piling up adjectives unseparated by punctuation.

34) J.Minor, in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1903, (RA,596):

[Ard.] behält sein Recht, wie jede wahre Natur, die sich echt und ehrlich ausspricht.

35) H.Laube, 1838, (op.cit., p.LXX):

Man tritt stets in ein sonnenbeschienenes und doch erfrischendes, schwellendes Land und Leben, sobald man sich seinen Worten nähert. . . . dies prächtige, strotzende Vermögen, die Welt für ein herrliches Kunstwerk in sich aufzunehmen. Diese That des Eindrucks wird ihm stets bleiben. (p.LIII): Heinse war vorherrschend erfüllt von plastischer Fähigkeit, in voller unerklärter Form drängte sich ihm aller Gegenstand zum Eindrücke; so gab er ihn wieder.

36) E.Hock, 1962? (op.cit.p.355):

Seine höchste - und unübertroffene - dichterische Leistung ist die hinreißende sprachliche Wiedergabe eines einzelnen Natur- oder Kunsterlebnisses. Er gehört zu den Meistern deutscher Prosa. Seine Sprache, impulsiv, enthusiastisch, verflüchtigt sich nie ins Ätherisch-Vage, enthüllt sogar,

bei tieferem Eindringen, eine überraschende Prägnanz. Mit ihren dynamischen Akzenten, ihrer kraftvollen Bildlichkeit, dem großen Atem und der Melodie ihrer Sätze offenbart sie im Medium des Wortes die Welt als das ewige Spiel der heftigsten wie der zartesten Lebensregungen.

37) K.D.Jessen, (op.cit.,p.IX):

Er ist der Meister des unmittelbarsten Ausdrucks. . . . Die Fähigkeit treuesten Festhaltens der blitzartigen und intensiven und differenzierten Impression ist bei ihm auf einen Grad erweitert, wie er zu Heinses Zeiten überhaupt nicht und auch jetzt höchst selten anzutreffen ist.

38) Walther Brecht, (op.cit.,p.XI):

[Characteristic for his notebooks is] "der ununterdrückbare Trieb . . . durch sprachliche Formulierung und Fixierung über alle Dinge der Außen- und Innenwelt ins klare zu kommen".

39) K.D.Jessen, (op.cit.,p.6;p.12):

Dieser realistische, exakte Zug, wenn man will dieser Rationalismus, hat Heinse nie wieder verlassen. Es ist eine der bemerkenswertesten Eigenschaften Heinses, dieses vielgeschmähten Mannes gewesen, daß er sich theoretisch wissenschaftlich mit den Fragen die ihn bewegten und berührten gewissenhaft, ernst und ehrlich auseinanderzusetzen. Es ist ein Zug nach Klarheit in ihm, nach bewusster Erfassung, nicht nach blosser Schönrederei.

40) F.Gentz, 1806, (ZZ,p.44):

Sehr schöne Briefe von Johannes [Müller] und wahrhaft genialische, ganz ausserordentliche von Heinse. Wie dieser über Kunst spricht, dagegen ist doch Winckelmann vor ihm und alle Schlegel und Tieck usw. nach ihm nur Wasser- oder Luftblase.

41) W.Sömmerring, 1844, (ZZ,p.50):

Den frisch erhaltenen Eindruck des Gesehenen oder Erlebten . . . schrieb er an Ort und Stelle sogleich mit Blei in Notizbücher auf, die er stets bei sich zu tragen pflegte. Daher die lebendige Frische, das Unmittelbare, Ergreifende seiner Schilderungen, wodurch er so ausgezeichnet ist. Sein poetischer Sinn schien zum Empfangen immer aufgelegt.

42) Rahel, 1808, (ZZ,47):

. . . der göttliche Briefsteller Heinse . . . Der liebe, liebe Kerl, die strotzende Pflanze, der ehrliche! Warum hast Du mir das Buch [Heinse's letters] nicht viel heftiger empfohlen, da Du doch von Friedrich Schlegels Gemäldebeschreibungen so eingenommen bist? Wie andrer Art sind die Heinses! Dem



hatte Gott seine richtigen fünf Sinne gegeben und allen ein weites Gesicht und dann den köstlichen, von Musen und Grazien bereiteten, von Apoll bewilligten dazu, der sie alle zusammenhält. . . Goethe, glaubte ich, nur könne so etwas."

43) Goethe, 19.4.1806, to Eichstädt, (ZZ,p.66):

"Den ersten Band der Heinseschen Briefe habe ich mit dem größten Vergnügen gelesen und es ist nicht zuviel gesagt, wenn man jedes Blatt Goldes wert nennt."

44) H.Eulenberg, from foreword to *Ardinghello und die glückseligen Inseln*, Berlin, n.d. (1923?):

Am erstaunlichsten ist die Sprache Heinses jung geblieben. Er findet seine Worte mit einer Sicherheit und prägt das, was er sagen will, mit einer Klarheit aus, daß man glauben könnte, es sei gestern und nicht vor hundertfünfzig Jahren zu Papier gebracht. Geradezu expressionistisch, um dieses letzte Modewort auf seine feurige geballte Ausdrucksform anzuwenden, wirken manche seiner Darstellungen der Landschaft, der See und der Seele.

45) M.Dick (op.cit.,p.145):

Bezeichnend für die überschwengliche Lebenskraft sind die schon expressionistisch anmutenden Bilder.

46) R.Benz, (op.cit.,p.8):

...Sohn seiner Zeit ... im zeitlosen Wort seiner Prosa alles zugleich neu gestaltet, daß es als Kunst- und Weltanschauung weiterwirkt und, jenseits von Klassik und Romantik, in Gestalten wie Hölderlin und Nietzsche, Stendhal und Jacob Burckhardt als ein höchst Modernes wiederaufleuchtet.

47) K.D.Jessen, (RA,596):

Der erste bedeutende deutsche Kunstfeuilletonist.

48) H.Laube, (op.cit.,p.XXX):

In Wahrheit sind alle Schriften Heinse's vielmehr Statuen, Bilder, Töne - will man gerecht sein, würdigt man sie nach dieser Ansicht . . . Nach diesem Betrachte sind sie einzig in der Literatur.

49) K.D.Jessen, (op.cit.,fn.to p.13):

Heinse hatte eigentlich das Zeug zu einem Journalisten und Publizisten in sich. In England wäre er es wohl geworden.

APPENDIX No.2

Heinse's Gemähldebriefe

They were written in two parts, the first in August 1776, comprising forty-six pages, the second in May-June 1777, thirty-five pages. (IX,280-323; 328-363)

Besides descriptions of paintings they contain Heinse's comments on the following topics:

- a) Greek painting as unsuitable subject for a novelist aiming at realistic representation ("sinnliche Vorstellung") because no longer existent. (281-282)
- b) the limitation of words (283-287)
- c) painting ("die Mahlerey") (288-289)
- d) "Wesen" (290-291)
- e) Beauty (291-300)
- f) imitation of Greek art (329-338)

There is also the tale of the life and work of Rubens. (338-341)

The paintings described are:

- 1) Die heilige Familie, by Raphael (301-304)
- 2) Heilige Familie, von Michel Angelo Buonarotti (304-307)
- 3) Madonna mit dem kleinen Jesus, by Carlo Dolci (307-310)
- 4) Madonna mit dem kleinen Jesus, by van Dyck (310-313)
- 5) Himmelfahrt der Mutter Gottes, by Guido Reni (313-315)
- 6) Johannes in der Wüste?, by Raphael (315-318)
- 7) Madonna, by Titian (320-321)
- 8) Susanna, by Annibal Carracci, and two more Susannas by van Dyck and Dominichino (321-323)

The Rubens paintings described are:

- 1) Flucht der Amazonen (345-350)
- 2) Sanherib (350-353)
- 3) Die Entführung der Töchter des Leukippos von den Dioskuren (345-359)
- 4) Der Regenbogen, eine Landschaft (359-361)
- 5) Rubens mit seiner ersten Frau, in Lebensgröße, in einem Garten (361-363)

APPENDIX No.3

The waterfall of the Rhine at Schaffhausen

Heinse's three descriptions

Den 14 August 1780.

Der Rhein bey Schaffhausen thut einen solchen Schuß in die Tiefe, daß er das Laufen vergißt, und sich besinnt, ob er Dunst werden, oder Wasser bleiben will. Wenn man ihn zum ersten erblickt: so sieht man lauter Dunststaub wie Silberrrauch in der Luft. Sein Brausen in der Ferne scheint wie Harmonie, in welche einzelne Fluthenschläge die Melodie machen. Er sieht ganz wild und ernst aus, und stürmt trotzig über die Felsen hin, kühn und sicher, nicht zu vergehen. Es ist eine erschreckliche Gewalt, und man erstaunt, wie die Felsen dagegen aushalten können. Das Wasser scheint von der heftigen Bewegung zu Feuer zu werden und raucht; aber sein Dampf ist Silber, so rein wie sein Element ist. (VII,22)

Den 14 Nachmittags auf der Zürcherseite.

Es ist der ungeheuerste Krieg der Riesenkräfte der Natur gegen einander. Allmählich vom weiten rauscht der Rhein die Felsen an, die hervorstehen; und fängt schon an zu zürnen, und schäumt an vielen Orten und Seiten auf, bis er sich im Grimm herniederstürzt, und seine Fluthen an den großen Massen von Stein aufbrausen, und immer schneller und jähzorniger mit einer Allgewalt gegen die entgegenstehenden und weit darüber herausragenden unbeweglichen Pfeiler in die Tiefe schießen, daß der Dunststaub davon in die Luft prallt, als ein starker Geist herum wirbelt, immer in feinere Wölkchen sich wälzt, und endlich menschlichen Augen verschwindet. Das unergründlich tiefe Brausen schlägt mit einer entzückenden Majestät in die Ohren.

Die zwey hervorragenden Steinpfeiler sehen aus wie feindliche Dämonen; insonderheit hat der erste von der linken Seite, welchen der Anprall unten ausgehöhlt hat, einen runden Katzenkopf. Man steht wie mitten in der Schlacht; nur ist der Eindruck weit größer, als er bey einem menschlichen Gewürge seyn kann; und vielleicht dem muthigsten Helden wird es vor dem Gedanken zittern, mit anzugreifen.

Was dieser Anblick für eine Menge Bilder und Gefühle in mir erregt hat, ist unaussprechlich und unbeschreiblich. Das große Becken, wohinein er stürzt, prallt wieder, wie ein stürmischer See auf allen Seiten. Er kömmt oben angezogen, und fällt mit allerley majestätischen Formen von Kopfsgestalt in Achillischer und Ajaxischer Wuth herein und an, grün wie Feueraugen, und weich von Schaum wie Sammt und Seide in brennender Zartheit, die in den allerschwindesten Momenten sich immer abändert.

Auch das bestgemahlte Bild von ihm wird immer todt bleiben. Die Heftigkeit der Bewegung giebt ihm Leben, welches warm und kalt ans Herz greift; daß einem vor Entzücken und Furcht der Odem aussenbleibt. Man müßte ihn denn von oben herab mahlen, daß man sähe, was er wolle. Er will in die Tiefen der Mutter Erde, um sich mit ihr im Innern zu vereinigen. Ihr Fleisch und Gebein von außen hemmt ihn. Nun trifft er Grund an, und will hinein; Felsen halten ihn auf; er stürmt, und führt mit Allgewalt seine Wogen an; schießt hernieder, und schäumt und sprudelt, und löst sich auf im Feuer der Liebe, daß sein Geist in den Lüften herum dampft. Auch will er nicht fort unten, und wirbelt noch lange heiß herum im Becken, als ob ihm die Zeit still stünde. (VII, 22f.)

Den 15 August Nachmittags um 5 Uhr auf der Zürcher Seite.

Es ist, als ob eine Wasserwelt in den Abgrund aus den Gesetzen der Natur hinausrollte. Die Gewölbe der Schaumwogen im wüthenden Schuß flammt ein glühender Regenbogen wie ein Geist des Zorns schräg herab. Keine Erinnerung, der höchste Flug der Phantasie kanns der gegenwärtigen Empfindung nachsagen. Die Natur zeigt sich ganz in ihrer Größe.

Die Allmacht ihrer Kräfte zieht donnernd die kochenden Fluthen herab, und giebt den ungeheuern Wassermassen die Eile des Blitzes. Es ist die allerhöchste Stärke, der wüthendste Sturm des größten Lebens, das menschliche Sinnen fassen können.

Der Mensch steht klein wie ein Nichts davor da, und kann nur bis ins Innerste gerührt den Aufruhr betrachten. Selbst der schlaffste muß des Wassergebürggetümmels nicht satt werden können. Der kälteste Philosoph muß sagen, es ist eine von den ungeheuersten Wirkungen der anziehenden Kraft, die in die Sinne fallen. Und wenn man es das hundertste mahl sieht: so ergreifts einen wieder vom neuen, als ob man es noch nicht gesehen hätte. Es ist ein Riesensturm, und man wird endlich ungeduldig, daß man so ein kleines festes mechanisches zerbrechliches Ding ist, und nicht mit hinein kann.

Der Perlenstaub, der überall, wie von einem großen wüthenden Feuer herum dampft, und wie von einem Wirbelwind herumgejagt wird, und allen den großen Massen einen Schatten ertheilt, oder sie gewitterwollicht macht, bildet ein so fürchterliches Ganzes mit dem Flug und Schuß und Drang, und An- und Abprallen, und Wirbeln und Sieden und Schäumen in der Tiefe, und dem Brausen und dem majestätischen Erdbebenartigen Krachen dazwischen, daß alle Tiziane, Rubense und Vernets vor der Natur müssen zu kleinen Kindern und lächerlichen Affen werden.

O Gott welche Musik, welches Donnerbrausen, welch ein Sturm durch all mein Wesen! Heilig, heilig, heilig! brüllt es in Mark und Gebein, kommt, und laßt euch die Natur eine

andre Oper vorstellen, mit andrer Architektur, und andrer Fernmahlerëy, und andrer Harmonie und Melodie, als die von jämmerlicher Verschneidung mit einem winzigen Messer euch entzückt.

Es ist mir, als ob ich in der geheimsten Werkstatt der Schöpfung mich befände, wo das Element von fürchterlicher Allgewalt gezwungen sich zeigen muß, wie es ist, in zerstürmten ungeheuern großen Massen. Und doch läßt das ihm eigenthümliche Leben sich nicht ganz bändigen, und schäumt und wüthet und brüllt, daß die Felsen neben an erzittern und klingen, und der Himmel davor sein klares Antlitz verhüllt, und die flammende Sommersonne mit mildern Strahlen drein schaut.

Es ist der Rheinstrom, und man steht davor wie vor dem Innbegriff aller Quellen, so aufgelöst ist er; und doch sind die Massen so stark, daß sie das Gefühl statt des Auges ergreifen, und die Bewegung so trümmernd heftig, daß dieser Sinn ihr nicht nach kann, und die Empfindung immer neu bleibt, und ewig schauervoll und entzückend.

Man hört und fühlt sich selbst nicht mehr, das Auge sieht nicht mehr, und läßt nur Eindruck auf sich machen; so wird man ergriffen, und von nie empfundenen Regungen durchdrungen. Oben und unten sind kochende Staubwolken; und in der Mitte wälzt sich blitzschnell die dicke Fluth wie ein grünlichtes Metall mit Silberschaum im Fluß; unten stürzt es mit allmächtiger Gewalt durch den kochenden Schaum in Abgrund, daß er wie von einer heftigen Feuersbrunst sich in Dampf und Rauch auflöst, und sich über das weite Becken wirbelt und kräuselt. An der linken Seite, wo sein Strom am stärksten sich herein wälzt, fliegt der Schuß wie Kanonenkugeln weit ins Becken, und giebt Stöße an die Felsenwand wie ein Erdbeben. Rund um weiter hin ist alles Toben und Wüthen, und das Herz und die Pulse schlagen dem Wassergotte, wie einem Alexander nach gewonnener Schlacht. (VII, 23-26); (X, 33-35)

APPENDIX No.4

Four sunrise descriptions

1) den 4ten Sept. 19 Minuten auf 6 Uhr. 1790.

Nach und nach erblaßten die lieblichen Hörner des bald unsichtbaren Mondes, und verschwand der süße Morgenstern. Das schönste Purpurroth färbte den Saum still harrender Wolken und verging im Feuer. Der heitre Lichtdunst durchglänzt den Aether, und nun blendet der Aufgang der göttlichen und ihre Strahlenkrone flammt mitten über Hochheim und durch ihre Feuersäule strömt der helle Rhein. (VIII,2,239)

2) den 14 September. 1790

[..] Der schönste Purpurbrand am Himmel in den leichten äußerst feinen gleichsam damascirten Streifwölkchen; wahre Süßigkeit fürs Auge. Der Morgenstern entfernt sich verschämt wie ein kleiner weißer Pursch. [...] Die Sonne kämpft unüberwindlich mit dem schwachen Gebilde niedriger Feuchtigkeiten. [...] Der Tag nimt überhand, und die Kontraste werden schwächer. Die Sonne flammt und glüht durchs Gewölk über dem Nebel [...] Versteckter Aufgang in dunstigem und nebellichem Gewölk macht den schönsten Tag. Schon strahlt sie weit und breit durch die freyen Räume des Aethers. (drey Viertel auf sechs Uhr) (VIII,2,240)

3) (den 15 Sept. den Schlag vier Uhr)

Heitre Nacht, frische Luft, Sirius, Orion, und der große Bär strahlten gerade über dem Rhein einander gegenüber, und führten gleichsam wie eine Braut den tiefern Morgenstern herauf, der sich im Strom spiegelte wie eine Fackel. Ein leises *Piano* von Sonnenlicht glänzte Pyramidenförmig von Osten herauf wie Nordschein, nur freudig und von lebendigem Quell. [...] Bald darauf zeigte sich, was die Italiener treffend *alba* [dawn] nennen. (VIII,2,241)

4) Den 15 Merz [1794] Gerade um 6 Uhr. Aufgang 7 Minuten.

Die Thäler von Cassel bis zum Feldberg waren mit grauem Nebel angefüllt. Der Rauch früher Häuser zog sich schnell dadurch. Vor Osten am Himmel ein breiter dünner Streif damascirter Purpurwölkchen, gleichsam Wipp, das allerfeinste von den lebendigen Elementen des Wassers, der Luft, und des Feuers. Dann schwoll die Feuerkrone der Sonne durch den dunkelrothen fetten Purpur des Gewölks, das sie wie durchsichtiges Gewand himmlische Schönheit umgab, Entzücken dem Auge, das höchste, das es ertragen kann, über Costheims Kirchenruinen gewaltig empor. Die Sonne bleibt doch die schönste und göttlichste Masse der Welt ... (VIII,3,42f.)

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